THE CRISIS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

FRANZ ALTHEIM

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The Crisis of the Ancient World

Franz Altheim

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THE CRISIS OF THE OLD WORLD

in the 3rd century AD and their causes. With contributions by E. Trautmann-Nehring First volume: The extra-Roman world

FOREWORD

The work, the first volume of which we are presenting, was begun during the war. External difficulties soon arose. We owe the fact that they were overcome to the generous support that the Reichsmarschall and the Reichsfuehrer once again gave us.

The rich results that we had brought back from the Scandinavian north and the Balkans, Syria and Iraq in 1937-38 were re-evaluated. Travel on the same scale was forbidden this time. However, we were able to visit Sweden, Norway and Hungary in 1939, a second trip to Sweden in 1940 and a longer stay in Italy. We would also like to take this opportunity to thank our sponsors for their help. Our thanks also go to His Royal Highness Crown Prince Gustav Adolf of Sweden, who himself introduced us to the treasures of his ancient Chinese collection.

The research and teaching community "Das Ahnenerbe" has continued to support our work with its usual willingness. It has taken over the book into its own publishing house.

We also feel obliged to: A. AlfoE ldi-Budapest, G. Baesecke-Halle S., K.Beger-Berlin, C.Daicoviciu- Sibiu, R. Delbrueck - Bonn, S.EitremOslo, P. De

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INTRODUCTION

For the second time in a short period1 , an account of the century from the end of Commodus to the accession of Diocletian is presented. Once again, this is neither a retelling of the historical process nor a description of all cultural . Here, too, it is a matter of : capturing the forces that shaped this

It is only to the extent that they contribute to shedding light on this question. The historical forms of life are only drawn upon to the extent that they contribute to shedding light on this question.

The history of this period was once practiced as imperial history. It was confined to the biographical. The events, especially the external and military entanglements, were summarized under the reigns of the individual rulers as if under chapter headings. The period after the First World War, on the other hand, saw a change of front2. It turned to mass movements; it on internal history. The key to understanding was now found in the economic-state contrast between town and country, between citizen and peasant. As the army was no longer augmented from the urban population but from the countryside, this contrast had its most far-reaching effect. The new peasant army and the emperors elected by it had made the cause of the country their own. This to the decline of urban culture and thus to the end of ancient culture altogether. So would a class struggle have turned the period into what it was? Certainly a social transformation took place. But it was not the driving force, any more than it determined the composition of the army. Here we have confused cause and consequence. The driving forces of history can never be determined from internal development alone. Ranke's doctrine of the primacy of foreign policy is still rightly valid. It will have to prove itself again in our case.

This volume confines itself to outlining the preconditions. Peoples who were still historically , in some cases barely known,

been knocking on the gates of the empire with might and main since the end of the 2nd century AD. But other neighbors also
- old opponents with whom they have been

Centuries in touch - grew, led by new and less consumed , into more dangerous opponents than before. What gave all of their attacks emphasis was a previous reorganization of the war system. Beginning or later, it allowed cavalry to take the lead everywhere, making it the weapon of choice in battle. By tracing the course of this transformation and its dimensions, we come across a single great movement that gradually took hold of the entire ancient * world. It began with the equestrian nomads of the Eurasian steppe belt. At the same time, it encompassed ancient cultural empires such as China in the east and Iran in the west. It also cast a spell over the newly emerged East Germanic peoples; it to the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. Finally, it reached the Roman Empire. It did not stop at its borders either: once again it brought about a decisive change in warfare. This last act is reserved for a later account. But it will already be clear that the crisis of the 3rd century no more be traced back to economic causes than it was to the area of the Imperium Romanum. It was by no means just a matter of the downfall of the ancient civilization, which was limited to a small urban upper class and was fading away with it. Rather, it is about an event that encompassed the entire circle of the ancient world and that only be compared to that of our day in terms of its extent and significance. A common destiny encompassed the whole world, then as now.

Earth. It it, made it fertile and allowed new things to from the ruins. It brought about a transformation of existence that had not been experienced in previous centuries. Even then, it was warlike events, warlike innovations, that set this development in motion and accelerated it in an unprecedented way.

Conclusions must be drawn from this realization. The title already indicates that the scope of the Imperium Romanum is being transgressed. The scope is wide, very wide. It stretches from the desert and steppe regions of North Africa to the borders of India, from the Pillars of Hercules to the mouth of the Huang-ho. The author cannot claim the same degree of expertise everywhere. His knowledge of Chinese and Arabic is lacking; that of the Germanic and Iranian languages is often no more than a makeshift. In most cases, he had to rely on translations or the help of friends. When

somewhere, the presentation here requires indulgence . . . And yet these and other concerns have been set aside and the attempt has been made. Up to now, peoples and cultures have been considered primarily according to their national characteristics. This approach is also applied here. But it is supplemented by a second approach that focuses less on the special nature and diversity of historical formations than on their unity, on the continuous coherence that prevails within them. The intellectual possibilities that are still open to us as the heirs of many centuries all bear the same characteristic. The world view of theoretical physics, an economy that spans the globe, an art of architecture whose dimensions threaten to absorb all other arts, the 'great' (not the psychological) novel, whose time

is far from over, perhaps not even quite begun . . . all of them are coping with enormous spaces and masses. Last but not least, the political and warlike events of the present point in this direction. It formally forces a comprehensive, worldwide view upon us. The science of history - as a realization of the present through the past - must draw conclusions from this. We must become accustomed to thinking not in terms of one culture, but in terms of cultures, empires and great empires. What has been said before may be repeated here. Historical thinking today is only as universal-historical thinking; historical questions only touch us if they are seen from a universal-historical perspective.

Here, the consideration of ethnic and tribal individualities enters into a fruitful relationship with the universal one. Far from contradicting each other, the two together lead to the goal. Only those who know and puszta, nomadism and shamanism , can gain the right point of view towards the urban culture of the Mediterranean region. An attempt must be made to understand each individual fate of the peoples from the perspective of whole of history. The emergence of the new national individualities, the emergence of a new order based on them, which can already be described as medieval - all this can only be seen from a comprehensive perspective. The universal-historical orientation opens the way to the consideration of individual nations according to their historical and uniqueness.

I. IRAN

y.

After the death of Alexander the "RoEmer "2 , there two hundred and forty kings in Iran. Their leader was Ardewan, of the Parthians; Persis, Isfahan and the neighboring regions were in his hands. He had Ardeshir, the son of Sasan, from the line of the old Persian , the Achaimenids, brought to his court. Ardeschir grew there in chivalrous breeding and surroundings. One day, the girl whom King Ardewan in honor than the other girls in his court told him a secret she knew. The astrologers, she said, had prophesied to her lord that a new king would emerge. He would kill many rulers and reunite the world in one kingdom. And this, too: that every servant who escapes from his master in the next three days will attain greatness and rulership and win victory over his former master. Both the girl and Ardeshir decided to act accordingly. They escaped on the king's best horses and took his Indian sword, a crown and many of his precious stones with them.

Ardewan pursued the with his men. He would have to catch them in three days, the chief of the astrologers told him; he would not succeed any later. People who met the king that in the morning the two riders had over, swift as the wind, and a very fat ram had followed them. Ardewan hurried

further. He met people again; they told him the same thing. The king asked the chief of the magicians what such news , and he received an answer:
"The ram is the splendor of royal rule; it has not yet reached Ardeshir. We must endeavor to get hold of him first." Ardewan hurried on quickly. The day he met a caravan. "We have noticed," these people said to the king, "that there was a very large and powerful ram on horseback with one of those riders." Again Ardewan asked the chief of his magicians, and he answered the :
"You may, Lord, be immortal. But the splendor of royal rule has reached the Ardeshir; there is no way you can get hold of it anymore
17

will be. Therefore do not yourselves and the riders, nor continue to tire the horses so that they perish. Look for a remedy against Ardeschir in another way."
The king sent an army against him. Ardeshir also went into battle with his men. For four months there was great fighting and killing every day. But since the glory of royal rule was with Ardezhir, he won the victory, killed Ardewan and all his property came into Ardezhir's hands. He took Ardewan's daughter as his wife.
This is the legendary account given by a Middle Persian book3, long after the events themselves4, of the of the third century AD. It seems to say that one dynasty another. The last Arsacid was replaced by Ardezhir. With him came the rise of Sasan's dynasty, which was to remain in possession of the throne for over four hundred years. But there is more to the reinterpretation, and our account in particular makes this clear.

At that time, Iran was undergoing a major upheaval that brought it back to its own past and thus to its own self. The Achaemenid Empire and the religion of Zarathustra, the most powerful creations in Iranian history, were taken into . What had emerged in them now as a binding norm against the state formations of the Parthian invaders and the , half-Hellenistic mixed culture that had developed among them.
Ardeshir's uprising thus signifies the final rejection of Alexander's great work. But the historical scope of the event is not limited to Iran: it extends to Rome; it also reaches into future. The new Sasanian Empire is in part the fulfillment of what the history of a people and a culture means, and in this respect it has a national character. But like everything national, if it is grasped in sufficient depth, it points beyond itself. As an "empire" with a universal claim, it stands alongside the Imperium Romanum. And it goes one step further by being the first universal empire bear typical medieval attributes. The legendary account that we shared at the beginning is a decisive factor. The rise of the Sasanians may have been described elsewhere more in terms of contexts and causes, with less emphasis on the miraculous; nevertheless, the subsequent period must have found something in this "novel" by Ardeschir that captivated them: a reality that appealed to them. Otherwise it would have been

hardly included in the Persian "KoE nigsbuch", that extensive compilation of the indigenous tradition, which was written down shortly before the fall of the Sasanian Empire, and which describes him as a

national memory has endured. Legend has always been the form in which history itself to Iran5 . Moreover, this report, as little as it history, is more valuable in one respect than if it limited itself to the historical: it is the myth of the founder of the empire and the founding the empire that is here. History in the narrowest sense focuses on events, i.e. on the course of time; myth is timeless and geared towards essence. When myth stories, it is neither for the sake of telling them, nor to for the literal truth in the course of the story. Rather, narrative here is merely: once chosen form, a possible expression of what is behind it and what is actually meant.
But what was meant? Much of what is said is only loosely connected with the particular event and the unique person of Ardeshir. It occurs wherever there talk of fortunate action and success. That women and that Fortuna, who belongs the same sex, offer herself to the hero; that everything and anything turns out well for him when the hour has come; that the hero grasps such hours without hesitation, and that being ready is everything - this and similar things tend to recur everywhere in such stories. In addition, is something else that is only valid for Iran and only for the Sasanians. For a high chivalric style intertwines here in such a unique way with a strictly legitimist and at the same time universal attitude, and both are overlaid by a commitment to Zarathustrian that it could only have presented itself in this way at that time. Attempting to dissolve the artistic fabric does not mean it; precisely

In such an attempt, its R&D and its unity will emerge.
2.
When the Parthian king the young Ardeschir to come to his court, he is told to stay with the knights' sons6. He goes hunting with Ardewan and his horsemen7. In the royal stables he sits and plays the kettledrum, sings and amuses himself in his own way; there, among the horses, the king's maiden discovers him and befriends him8. And on horseback

The contest between Ardewan and Ardeschir takes place again, with the splendor of royal rule in the saddle alongside its protégé. Horses and riders are everywhere. It is the way of life that peculiar to the Parthian royal court: the young Persian, who would one day Ardewan, grows up in this form himself. It was given to the Parthians from their and it is the new thing they introduced into Iranian history. The country of Iran is not a uniform cultural area9. Its development has taken place two poles. One lies in the south-west, in Mesopotamia 10, which is connected to the Mediterranean regions and can receive its influences from there. The opposite pole the Turanian countries of the north-east.

These two poles also signify the contrast between fertile land and steppe, between agriculture and , between sedentariness and nomadic life, between urban culture and the roaming of raiding hordes. While the Achaimenids, Alexander and his successors had this in common, despite all their differences, that they were characterized by the

SuE dwest, the appearance of the Parthians means that the pendulum swung to the opposite side.

The Parthians, a Scythian tribe, had invaded Iran proper from the steppes of Turan across the protective peripheral mountains. The conquest of parts of the satrapy of Parthia marked the beginning of the Arsacid AI ra11 and also gave the people its future name. According to their \y origin, they were the Parners, who in turn belonged to the Dahers12. Originally living on the Ochos (Tedschend), east of the Herirud, they also exchanged their new name with the new seats. These Parners or, as they were now called, Parthians came from the north-east, the Turanian steppe. They bore the signs of this for a long time and were basically never able to deny it.

Like all Central Asian nomads, such as the Huns (pp. 72 f. below) and Sarmatians (p. 111 below), the Parthians also brought with them a developed animal style13. Products of this original Parthian art can still be found in Dura found in Dura: a bronze belt fitting14, which anticipates similar pieces of Avar 2-3 art15 , and a relief of elks carved from bone16. The arrangement of the animals is repeated on the bronze buckles and emblems 1.4.5 of Sino-Siberian art17. Even if differences be identified in detail, the common Central Asian homeland 20
referred18. The elk also there. It appears a second time on a graphitto in Dura19 - there the shovel elk, here the pole elk - and the precise distinction between the two breeds20 shows how strong the ties between Parthian art and its homeland in the north-east still were in later times.

The shovel elk and pole elk appear side by side in the finds from the Hun princely tomb of Pazyryk in the Altai; the latter together with the and griffin on the strange horse masks made of leather and felt21. The importance of the Cervids for the Parthians in general is illustrated by the fact that they appear as an ornament on the Parthian royal helmet (see p. 99 below).f.). According to his 23 coins22 , Phraates III wore bull horns and a series of metal stag figures on his helmet. These in a closed sequence from the front to the back over his cap. Here, too, a comparison can be drawn with the Central Asian23 and with of South Russian metalwork. The Sarmatian diadem from Novocherkassk24 lends itself to direct comparison25.

If the sedentary farmer and follower of the Zarathustrian doctrine recognizes in cattle the animal26 that is the expression and genuineness of his existence, the same is true of the horse for the nomad. The nomad is the wanderer and the , the man of force and master, who roams vast lands and regards them as the prey offered to him: he is the hero who has set his existence on battle. The means of this life, of traversing these vast

expanses, and at the same time the expression of his masterly existence, is the horse. Thus the nomads are representatives of an unbound, lordly and chivalrous way of life27. This is particularly evident among the Parthians. They were defenceless on foot. Their garments, which reached down to their ankles, prevented them from walking, fighting and fleeing; they could easily be captured or cut down28. They only found themselves in the saddle. "They are always on horseback, on it they go to war, they ride to their guesthouses, they carry out their

oE public and private obligations. walk and stand on horseback, they trade and confer with each other. And finally this distinguishes servants and masters, that the one go on foot, the other always appear on horseback. "29 This description by an ancient historian illustrates what was meant by life on horseback. It also expresses the aristocratic man's sense of chivalrous mastery.

It is only a step from the lifestyle of the aristocrat to that of the ruler. Darius called Persis "a land of good horses" 30; in neighboring Media stretched the NisaEc region, the home of a famous breed, the pasture of untamed herds of horses31. The Persian youth learned riding, archery and telling the truth. Xerxes' campaign against Greece was preceded by miraculous signs that were revealed on horse and mule318. According to the Herodotean story, Darius himself owed his throne to the neighing of his horse32. And yet, how insignificant the role of the rider and his animal remained under the Achaemenids! On seal cylinders in the Assyrian-Babylonian style, we encounter the king on a chariot33. Otherwise, the ancient Persian reliefs show him on the throne34 , under the umbrella35 , in battle with the loE wen or dragon36 , standing before the altar of fire or before Ahuramazda37 - never on horseback37a, always on foot. And on foot he appears on the gold coins38 , Darius appears on the great rock relief of Bisutun39 , in the sight of his triumph over the of LuEgen. Finally, the troops of the bodyguard stride along on foot, on the friezes of the palaces of Persepolis and Susa40.

The Achaimenids remained attached to the ancient Indo-European chariot despite the recent advent of horseback riding400. The Sasanian rock carvings -U testify that a change had taken place in the meantime. The Sasanian great king appears on horseback everywhere: in homage or in the company of paladins41, in scenes of subjugation42, when Ormuzd bestows the ring of dominion43, in knightly duels with the enemy44, in heavy armored and on the hunt45. Only occasionally does he still appear on foot46; the ideas of horse and royal have now become so closely linked47.
The Sasanians were not the first to the break. The Parthian royal reliefs already depict the duel on horseback for dominion48 and the homage scene in front of the mounted king49. In addition, the use of the horse in war was inseparably linked with the Parthians in the imagination of antiquity.

The Parthians had retained their native Scythian weaponry on Iranian soil50. The majority of the army consisted of freemen51, but even these had to learn riding and archery, just like the freeborn members of the people. A man's wealth was measured by how many horsemen he allowed to join the king's army in case of war. Close combat and

The Parthians had little regard for sieges; their strength lay in the sudden attack on horseback and in the disguised flight, by means of which they tempted the enemy to be imprudent. Endurance in battle was not their thing and they often broke off the battle at its climax; then, however, they rallied from their flight to put up new resistance, and the decision awaited the supposed victor.

Archers on horseback, fleeting and then bursting forth again, swarming and surprising in attack - at first they can only be imagined as a lightly armed troop. The Parthian archers appear as such on terracottas, dipinti and graffiti52 ; in the same form in literature and poetry. But this would not complete the picture53. The home of the scale and plate armor is to be found among the equestrian peoples of Central Asia. This type of armament was already in use in Alexander the Great's time. In the Battle of Gaugamela, Bactrian and Sakish troops fought on the left wing of the Persian formation. While the Bactrians were subjects of the Great King, the Saka were merely allies54; the inhabitants of the Turanian steppe had sent an auxiliary force to join the imperial army. They are described as mounted archers55 , but we also assume that men and horses were shielded by scale armor56.

The Parthians preserved this Central Asian heritage57. On the coins of the first Arsacids appears an in long armor reaching down to the lower leg58; it is stated that the armor also extended to horses59. A further distinctive armament of the heavy troops was the thrusting lance. It enabled them to the enemy in close combat. Light and heavy cavalrymen complemented each other: once the hail of arrows from the all-embracing armor had the enemy's resistance, the frontal attack of the cataphracts began; the thrust of the armored cavalry completely dissolved the ranks of the enemy foot soldiers60. This tactic was brought to its peak by the Parthian commander from the Suren family61, the

inflicted a crushing defeat on the legions at Karrhai. Noble birth and wealth had enabled this man to maintain a corps of a thousand armored horsemen and nine thousand mounted archers from his own resources62 ; these, lightly armed, were recruited from his own slaves and serfs of the suras. A train of a thousand camels

accompanied the troops63 ; they carried the arrows so that the shooters would never lack shooting equipment64.

All these forms of warfare were adopted by the Sasanids. As before, the armed forces were only deployed for war; there was no standing army6*.

They had learned the strict secrecy of all war plans and the raid-like nature of their wars from their predecessors65". The cavalry was and remained the main weapon. Once again, the lightly armed archer appears on horseback with the cataphract at his side. On the occasion of a battle between Aithiopes and Persians invented by the author in the thirties of the
Heliodorus' novel, written in the 3rd century AD,66 is a description of the Persian armored horsemen: the most detailed known. Objectively and historically, it can claim the greatest interest; it stands alongside the shorter descriptions of Ammianus Marcellinus, Tabari and Firdusi67.
Pictorial representations lend themselves to comparison. Alongside the Sasanian rock reliefs68 are the frescoes and sculptures from the ruined sites of Kyzyl and Shorchuk, Tumchuk, Kucha and Turfan, and generally from the strongly Sasanian-influenced East Turkestan69. In addition, there are the graffiti of 12-13 Dura-Europos70 and the remains of horse armor found at the same site.

has71. More recently, the Gotland armor has been added. Excavations on the battlefield east of Wisby, where the Danish king Waldemar Atterdag defeated the Gotland peasants in 1361, have revealed a whole series of types of armor that undoubtedly have Iranian or, which the same thing here, Central Asian origins72. Finds from South Russia and East Asia73 can also be used for comparison.
At Heliodorus, the cataphracts form the core of the Persian army. They occupy the center of the battle formation. Positioned in front of the chariot, which the satrap leads the battle, they resemble an impenetrable wall74. They are not individual combatants, but attack in close-knit masses at a gallop75. Their tactics are based on overrunning everything in the first onslaught76. If the horses break free, the order, the force of the onslaught is gone77. The comparison with the Macedonian phalanx that has been drawn78 is thus justified. Heliodorus actually speaks of a phalanx79.
Only selected men of particular physical strength are recruited into this force.

in line. Because only they can carry the heavy armor. The helmet is made of one and protects the head and neck. At the front, it imitates the man's face like a mask80, only a view through. Such metal face masks of cataphracts are known from the graphittivon Dura-Europos81, while the closed face helmet appears on a Manichaean silk painting from Khocho82 and on the equestrian statue of Tak-i Bostan. In his right hand the cataphract holds the long thrusting lance, the kontos; with his left hand he wields the

ZuE gel. The Persian slashing weapon, the kopis83, hangs at its side.
The description of the carapace is of the greatest interest. It covers the whole and consists of rectangularly shaped ""84 in span . It is therefore a plate armor or, as it has recently been called, a split armor.85 Made of iron or bronze, these lamellae are connected to each other in such a way that their outermost edges86 together. The upper slats join the lower slats and

both join the side slats without a gap. The connection is made by cords87 that run along the inside of the armor88. They enclose the individual lamellae in a loop shape and thus create a firm connection89.
On one of the graffiti from Dura-Europos, the cataphract wears such lamellar armor below the chest90. It is also clearly visible on the equestrian statue of Tak-i Bostan91 and also on a Chinese relief from the tomb of Emperor T'ai tsung (627-649)92. The lacing can now be studied on the finds from Dura-Europos93. The Gotland armor94 and the horsemen 14-15 Tak-i Bostan confirm the picture95, and the armor of the Tibetans and Chukchi, who have preserved the same technique until more recent times, have also been used for comparison96. The armor, Heliodor continues, remains flexible due to the way it is knotted; it expands or contracts as desired97. It envelops the body like a scaly cloak and extends into regular sleeves on the arms98; it reaches from the neck to the thighs. The armored skirt is divided at the bottom to it easier to sit in the saddle. The legs are not covered by

armored pants, as known from Dura and seen in the frescoes of Turfan and Khocho99, 14-15 but protected by greaves. These also appear in the depictions from East Turkestan100. In the case of Heliodorus, the greave extends to the knee, where the armored skirt joins it.

The horse is also armored. It wears splints on its legs and a forehead plate on its head101. Xenophon already mentions this for the Persian armored riders of his time102; the Scythian tombs of southern Russia also had such pieces103. In addition, the animal is protected by chain mail104 , which does not prevent it from running due to its thinness. The rider's armor, on the other hand, is so heavy that he cannot mount the horse by his own strength, but has to be lifted up. Once , the cataphracts can no longer rise: they lie "like . "105 Similar stories are reported elsewhere106. When attacking, the rider releases the animal's tongues and charges at the enemy at full speed. A graphitto from Dura-Europos shows the man and animal shifting their weight forward107.
It is curious what Heliodorus reports about the use of the konto. The front part of the apparently very heavy lance is tied to the animal's neck108 and thus held up. The end of the shaft hangs at the side of horse's hindquarters and is anchored there by means of a sling. Nothing else is known of this. The depictions consistently show free handling of the thrusting lance, occasionally even with both hands109 , as is also reported by the Sarmatians110. During the attack, Heliodorus continues, the lance is held in the manner described and is thrust far and suddenly forward.

bumped. As the end of the stock is firmly attached to the horse, it cannot give way on impact. The weapon is carried forward with the full force of the horse's run, with the rider's hand only giving it direction. The force of the thrust is so great that the lance often penetrates two opponents111. Everything that has been mentioned so far: the predominance of the

horseman's weapon, the armor of man and horse, the heavy helmet, the thrusting lance - it means an anticipation of medieval forms. Accordingly, Iranian chivalry as a military institution was accompanied by a developed feudalism as a political form 112. Powerful families with extensive landholdings and a large number of nobles113 were characteristic of the Parthian state; they also represented a restriction on royal power in that they had a claim to the highest estates and these were often in their hereditary possession114. The Suren lands were mostly located in the Saken lands, those of the Karen and Mihran in southern and northern Media115. It also appears that the governorship of Mesopotamia was in their hands for a long time116; their most famous member, the later
26
victor of Karrhai, had defeated the mighty Greek city of Seleukeia117. In addition to the great ""118 , semi-independent dominions were also encountered: local dynasties and city-states of oriental or Greek origin. The Greek subject states were extensive autonomy; they were even allowed to maintain their own hoplite militia119. Alongside them stood the kings of Edessa and Hatra, the lords of Batnai, Singara and others120 - all of them more or less loosely dependent on the Parthian Great King in Ctesiphon (see p. 131 below).

The new Sasanian kingship emerged with the claim to eliminate the "partial "121 and to restore all land to the only legitimate dynasty. It is unmistakable that a tightening of centralized power occurred and that it was at least asserted under capable rulers. The Parthian feudal nobility was contrasted with a new one that was more closely linked to the Sasanian dynasty. It seems that the royal lineage itself was the starting point and that the aim was to be achieved by creating collateral lines122. But this procedure alone shows that the feudal order was basically preserved. And a large part of the old nobility also remained: the houses the Suras and Karen were able to maintain their power even under the Persian dynasty123. With the introduction of a state church, the high clergy became a new component. This also meant a strengthening of the feudal order, and the clergy often to acquiesce to the demands of the tsarathustrian clergy.
3.
Here everywhere the Sasanian world is based on what Parthians created, and not only here. Ardeschir, as his story tells , made a masterful shot while hunting. He hit a wild ass with his arrow in such a way that it penetrated its body and came out the other side; the animal died on the spot. But Ardewan's son claimed to have made the shot and did not want to his subordinate his . This led to the first quarrel between Ardezhir and the Parthian king124.
Why this and what the shot at the wild ass mean? - First of , it must be said that this animal is a royal one in many ways.

been. Spread in its varieties across the interior of the Asian continent, it can almost be called the ruler of the steppe.
27

can be described as a "hero". As such, Sven Hedin sang him a song of fame12S. "Who could rightly called," he exclaims, "the king of innermost Asia than the wild ass? From the of Syria and Mesopotamia, from the regions around the Persian salt , from the lonely plains of the Dzungarei and East Turkestan to the unseen expanses of the grasslands and the arid steppes on the border of the far East - everywhere Jigetai reigns." He praises the wild donkey's roaring lust for life, its indomitable courage, its boldness and the beauty of its movements. Pride in its unbound life has characterized the poetry of the Hebrews. "Who has let the wild ass go free," says the Lord to Job, "who has loosened the bonds of the fugitive, to whom I have given the entrance to the house and the desert for a dwelling?"

On the reliefs of the Assyrian palaces, it appears as a hunting animal and primarily as that of the king126. The history of the later Sasanids knows of a king who was named after the wild ass, either to characterize his nature because he a similar master shot while hunting. He had killed the animal together with the lion that had pounced on it with a single arrow127. In short, the wild ass is the royal game, and the ruler's hand and skill are proven in the hunt for it. For this reason, the silver shoEs128 of the Sasanian period show the royal master shoE at in their chased work, the silk fabrics129 in their patterns; alongside the lion and boar is

the wild donkey also found its prey 13°. When Ardezhir took the liberty of his shot, he did what in him the future ruler of Iran, and it was not without reason that Ardewan's son wished to make the deed appear as his own.

The bow and the art of handling it are as old as Iran itself130a. But Ardeschir, Ardewan and their counterparts created by the Sasanian artisans - they all hunt on horseback. And again, the appearance of the horse signifies a change from the previous period. For while the gold coins and silver sigils of the Achaemenids131 show the bow-armed king on foot, without marking the enemy or any other target, since the Parthian period the archer and on horseback has been the form under which the ruler is imagined. The art of the Scythians of Siberia and the South Russian Sarmatians (see p. 111) shows that this form also originated in the Central Asian homeland of the Parthian people. From there it came to Iran: here, as everywhere else, the Parthians adopted the equestrian style, the estimation

of the horse as an expression of noble nobility. They were equally inseparable from horse and bow and always made use of them, whether for war or hunting132. These passionate only enjoyed meat when it had been hunted133. There are countless depictions of hunts in Parthian art134 ; no subject has them like this one. Once again, the equestrian style makes use of everything it can get hold of. First appearing in the craft of war and in the wild, then by the Parthians to the private habits of the noble man, it does not stop at the realm of women. Likes to linger

the image of the royal Ardeschir and his maiden, as they rush through the lands on their racers, swift as the wind135. This anticipates something of the magic of the Persian miniatures that were later to adorn the heroic epics of Firdusi and others135a. Or one thinks of those coeval clay figures that visualize the behavior of a related and neighboring world

- This refers to the China of the T'ang, its chivalrous and high culture. There, too, the horse rules in a unique way. And again, the woman is not afraid to show herself in the saddle (see p. 75 f.).

There is a small masterpiece of this genre, a young polo player, 62 cavorting with her pony: the animal's movements are far-reaching, but the rider's seat is tight and secure. The model for such behavior is to be found in the country from which the equestrian spirit conquered the Middle Kingdom just as it did in Iran. Even today's travelers are still impressed by the power with which the Mongolian knows how to control her horse; they also do not forget the grace of her movement in the saddle, her whole appearance136. Once again, one is suddenly to the equestrian nations of Central and Northern Asia, from which the Parthians had once broken away. But while all this may have remained valid, in style and , for the duration of Parthian rule and beyond, there is one area in which the Sasanian period differs from what preceded it. And such a distinction reaches down to the fundamentals.

It became clear beforehand: Turan and Iran, the land of the raiders and that of the farmers, that of the nomads and that of the permanent settlements, the castles and towns - they were the poles from which the history of the regions began.

between the Tigris and Pamir. The Parthians and their neighbors had broken through the Turanian depression in the northeast, had media

and took possession of all the territory down to Mesopotamia; Iran had bowed to the will of the Turanian conquerors. They had established themselves in the country in their own way: They continued to leave cities and agriculture to their subjects, but they themselves followed this way of life only hesitantly and , if at all. Just as their comrades, the Tocharians, had subjugated the land of Bactria, but nonetheless abused the way of urban life and ruled the subjugated area from their court camp on the other side of the Oxus, from the edge of the desert (see p. 38), so did the Parthians. The Arsacid kings first had their seat in Bagir1*7 or m Darai38 where the farmland merges into the steppe. And when they then moved it to Mesopotamia, they again avoided any fixed location. These kings set up camp on the northern bank of the Tigris, separated from the popular Greek metropolis of Seleukeia by the wide river. Their horsemen and warriors kept themselves separate from that different, urban and persistent world1*"

The Parthians have always retained a form that is reminiscent of the steppe and the life on the move that belongs it. There, the bond between people and soil is the weakest imaginable: a coincidence, even a mere whim, can

tear it apart. The camp, not the ground, is the home of such an equestrian people. But when the Parthians were overthrown and a new Persian kingdom their place, that other

world from which we had previously turned our backs.
Persis had also adopted the chivalric style. Darius had already called it "a land of good horses" in his inscriptions! The Persian dynasties had themselves depicted on horseback during the Parthian period142. But it remains that the rule of the Parthians could no more gain a foothold in this land than that of the Seleucids before. It is true that Zeus Megistos, Apollo and Helios, Artemis and Athena are inscribed in the fire temple that was built at the foot of the great terrace shortly after the burning of Persepolis. But the ancient were meant: Ahuramazda, Mithra and AnaW" Shortly afterwards, Istachr took the place of the old capital "4. After the death of the last satrap of Greek descent in 316, a local family, the Fratadara, who resided in Istachr1", took over the rule. Their date from before 300 BC until their incorporation into the Parthian Empire around the middle of the 2nd century 14*. They lived entirely in the shadow of the great Achaimenid tradition. This is shown not only by the
30
Worship of the ancient : art and architecture (Kengawer146a and Churha) also followed in the footsteps of the past147. And just as the chancery of the great kings once did, these descendants also made use of the Aramaic script to record their native idiom148. More important than anything else, however, was the fact that the ruling dynasty itself was descended from the Achaimenids. The line , as the coins show, via the Fratadara without any sign of interruption until the first Sasanids149. It continued for no less than 550 years. Since the emergence of the Arsacids, the rulers of Persis no longer bore the old name

Names such as Darius-Dara and Artaxerxes-Ardeshir, which were unknown outside Persia, show that the Achaemenid tradition was deliberately continued151. Sasan, the ancestor of the dynasty named after him, does not bear a proper name, but that of a military commander152. Here, as everywhere else, the narrowness of the becomes apparent: small lords, often no more than knights, who took credit for their titles, their warrior and priestly qualities. Ardeschir's immediate ancestors153 sat in a place south of Lake Bachtegan: although "" themselves, they were subject to another "king" who sat in the "white castle" (Diz-i sipid) east of Persepolis. Ardeshir's mother came from this same family and his son was entitled to the position of bailiff154 and leader of the local troops. Istachr itself meant nothing other than "castle. "155 And just as people lived in castles and fortified towns, just as they were closely related to each other, they were also attached to the old ways. The rules of the Zarathustrian religion were strictly observed. The depiction of the sacred fire appears on the prayers of the Persian dynasts156. The cult center was the fire temple of the Anahit in Istachr; Ardeschir's grandfather had been the head of this sanctuary. The coins bore inscriptions in the local dialect157, whereas the

Arsacids had long used Greek. Early on, people began to rise up against the rule of the Arsacids158 , whose rule must have been seen as usurped. Even if they were not always successful, they resisted the armies of the Parthian bravely and with tenacious self-assertion.

Certainly, everything took place in small and minute relationships. But this Persis, where the great memories hung, where the ruins of the Achaemenid palace stood and the tomb of Cyrus bore witness to the glory of the founder of the empire.

It was, as it were, a castle of tradition. And it was also a castle in another sense.

When the Parthian king Ardewan recited peace to his vassal Ardeshir, he sent him the words: "You have overstepped your bounds and brought about your own fate, O Kurd, you who raised in the tents of the Kurds. "159 There are three tribes in the world, says an Arabic proverb: the Kurds, the field mice and the locusts. "Kurd "160 - that means: representative of all that is harmful and all that is uncultured. At the same time, however, this word means that the person addressed lives and lives in the manner of the Kurds. That he is at home in the mountains, in a high and impassable mountain range, where he a hard existence. Just as the Kurds have since time immemorial; just as the Persians had done before Cyrus brought them to power and wealth, and just as they did again before they their empire for the second time. Ardezhir's characterization as a Kurd is in contrast to the Parthian Great King and his opulent court, which had its seat down in the Susiana and in the fertile Blachfeld on the side of the two streams.

There is no shortage of fertile land in Persis, not even plains. In the area around Pasargadai, it may well be tempting to horses. Nevertheless, this land never an equestrian people, as the steppes of the north-east or the plains of Mesopotamia did. After the Tigris and the coastal country, Persis is

as if sealed off by mountain ramparts161. Up to eight and nine mountain lines rise one behind the other; ascending in terraces up to snow height, they protect the entrance. Occasionally this labyrinth opens up into small valleys and plains, but they are surrounded by such mighty mountains that the villages only the sun in the morning and lie in the shade during the day. The "highway" had run through here since ancient times, but if the Achaemenid king, coming up from Susa, wanted to use it to visit his Persian homeland, he had to pay tribute to the mountain tribes. And it was only by bypassing them that Alexander had once been to take the pass; at Gaugamela, in wide and open terrain, just victorious in a great equestrian battle, he had had submit to the laws of mountain warfare. Persis a real fortress. Its inhabitants were not only attached to tradition, but also to the ground - whether it the mountains or the small plains and drifts that provided space for the and food for the people.

were waged. It was no coincidence that it was from this corner of Iran that the uprising against the treaties of the former nomads began. With the Sasanids, the farmer, the inhabitant of the , the nobleman on his tower and the settled man in general raised his head again. And this, too, is not without , that Ardezhir was a founder of cities like very few others; no less than eight strong cities were based on him161*. Who would not have been reminded of another legend by Ardeschir's escape from the royal court - also an escape of a similar kind? When Walthari and Hilda escape from Etzel's court, they hurry, like the Persian prince and his , towards a "homeland". They are not fleeing into the distance and into the boundless, as is

the steppe dweller. Rather, they hurry towards that piece of land where they are at home and into whose soil the roots of their existence have sunk deep. These are the people who leave the Hun king or the Parthian court to find their native land and themselves in it.

4.

The emergence of the Sasanids coincided with the uprising of Iran, which had been ruled by the states and the peasants, against the Central Asian equestrian . And yet the old was not simply restored. against the invaders, they dealt with them. They took and kept what seemed valuable to them in order to use it as a weapon against the enemy. The form of and taken over from the marginal peoples of , Iran and Turan were both involved in the creation of the Sasanian Empire. Not even the liberation of the native soil from Turanian rule completed. In large parts of Iran there were still descendants of the equestrian , uncomfortable and dangerous neighbors. The fact that it remained and had to remain this way due to the historically inherited and geographically determined division of the Iranian landscape.

It lacks a unified form. Politically, there are still two separate areas in the east: Afghanistan and the British crown colony of Belshistan. The area, which includes the cities of Herat, Balch and Kandahar and essentially encompasses the former satrapy of Bactria, resembles a castle that is difficult to access, not only in the direction of the South Stream, but also to the west. The foothills of the Hindu Kush rise from Herat to a much greaterheight than the chains that separate Khorasan from the steppe.

The south as far as the sea is also sealed off from the Iranian west: the waterless desert acts as an obstacle in between. Only with Sistan, the area around Lake Hamun, does the land take on a fertile appearance again. Historically, the separation of the east from the whole of Iran goes back a long way162. After the fall of the Achaemenids, the satrap Bessos planned to his own empire in Bactria. The plan failed, as it was bound to, due to Alexander's encroaching power; but a little later it was renewed under more favorable auspices. Barely half a century had passed since Alexander's death when the satrapies broke away from the Seleucid successor state and formed their own Greek-Bactrian kingdom163. There

was no lack of attempts to reunite the detached component with the whole, but they failed to achieve lasting success.

Even then, the threat of danger from Turan played a role. After Alexander's death, the nomads of the north had overrun the oasis of Merw and destroyed the Greek city there164. The Bactrian then took over the protection of the border and expanded it with their own fortifications165. They played the same role in Iran as protectors of the urban and peasant culture from the northern Iranian steppe peoples as the Macedonian Antigonids did in fending off the barbarians of the Balkans166. When the Seleucid Antiochus III besieged the Bactrian king in his capital, the latter induced him to conclude peace by threatening that he would call the nomads across the border167. It was clear to both that the fall of Greek rule over eastern Iran was then inevitable. The events of the subsequent period were to prove the correctness of such

foresight. Disaster when a new conflict between the Seleucids168 and the Bactrian house of the Euthydemids weakened the power of Eastern Greece. From the first decades of the 2nd century BC onwards, wave after wave of Central Asian tribes Iran from the northeast. The was initiated by a huge expansion of Arsacid power. When Antiochus III fought the Parthians, they only possessed a narrow strip in the northwest, on the edge of the . But then came the conquests associated with the name Mithridates I (171-138)169 . Soon after 150, the whole of Media fell to him, followed by Arachosia and Drangiana. The king's last conquest was the Elymai's. At his death, his empire stretched from the Hindu Kush to the Euphrates170, from the Indus to the Choaspes171.

The entire west and southeast of Iran had added to the Parthian homeland172.

This expansion had been made possible on the one hand by the weakening of the Seleucid Empire after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Epiphanes' death, on the other hand by the Bactrian turmoil that followed Eucratides' rise173. But the impetus came from another side. In the meantime, a new advance of nomadic tribes had in the north-east, i.e. from the homeland of the Parthians. This was reported primarily by Chinese sources174. The decisive event was the establishment of the great Hun Empire by Mau-tun175 (around 206-174). It stretched from the Great Wall of China to the borders of East Turkestan. Among the tribes that the founder of the empire himself wanted to subjugate were the Juchechi. Under Mau-tun's son, they were conquered by the Huns for a second time.

defeated for the second time (shortly after 174) and began to emigrate westwards. In doing so, they in turn displaced the Saks. The latter left their land of Ferghana176, where they had once lived in the neighborhood of the Daher and Parner177, to the JuE tschi. Like the descendants of those two , the Parthians, they made their way to Sueden. But even the JuE e-chi did not remain in their newly won seats. Defeated by the Wu-sun178 , they moved west. There they lived north of the Oxus; in addition, Bactria the

south was subject to them. This reveals the fall of the GraE co-Bactrian empire, which, according to ancient sources, was brought about by the nomadic tribes of the north around 130179. Among these, the Tocharians are mentioned alongside other Scythian tribes "from the Saka land beyond the Jaxartes, which is located opposite the Saka and Sogdians "180. According to the generally accepted view today, these Tocharians were identical with the people that the Chinese refer to as the Judeans181. The theory that the two dialects A and B of the langue de Coutcha, as it was called after its discovery, represent Tocharian182 has not been upheld. The Tocharians spoke an Iranian dialect183 which, according to explicit testimony, was written in an alphabet of 25 letters, i.e. the Greek alphabet or one derived from it184. More precise research will show whether pieces Tocharian writing have been preserved185. However, the Iranian origin of the people has been conclusively confirmed by the evidence that their Chinese name contains an older *zguja or *zgujaka, i.e. the Scythian name186.

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This means that the Tocharians also belong to the other tribes in terms of language. They all belonged to the Iranian language tribe. Remnants of the Saka language and writing have been found in East Turkestan187. The inscriptions of the Kshatrapas in northern and western India show a related dialect188. The Parthians, too, must have spoken an East Iranian dialect at one time, if their descent from Dahers and Parnians189 is certain. Only after they were established in Iran proper did they adopt the "north-western dialect", the imperial language of the Arsacids. If it is once said that Parthian stood between Scythian and Median190 , this must apply from the very moment when the linguistic transition took place.

Like the other nomadic tribes, the Parthians came from the Turanian steppe. We saw that they had broken into Iran from the regions southwest of the Oxus and the Aral Sea. They belonged to the entire Saka people191. In the same years the Parthians were advancing rapidly, wresting all their Iranian possessions from the Seleucid Empire and already preparing to descend into the Mesopotamian lowlands, the second Hellenic empire on Parthian soil fell victim to related nomadic tribes. The simultaneity of the two events can hardly be coincidental. In the wake of the establishment of the Hun Empire, the entire tribes to the northwest and west of the T'ien shan were apparently on the move, advancing to the south and west. The Parthians had so far only been participants and supporters of this movement; soon they were to make their power felt. Mithridates I already had to deal with it. In June or July 141 he had entered Seleukeia on the Tigris192. In the fall of

In the same year, he was recognized as king in Uruk193. But shortly afterwards he set off for Hyrcania194, where he remained during the counter-offensive of the Seleucid Demetrios. There must have been important reasons that prompted him move to the north-east, to leave the Mesopotamian battlefield. It can be assumed that an invasion by the , who

had been driven out of their seats by the Judeans, or the Judeans themselves prompted him to do so19S.

Around ten years later, these tribes once again the Parthian Empire. The aggravation to which it was subjected by the counterattack of the Seleucid Antiochus VII led to a call for help from Phraates II (138-128) to the "Scythians". They responded to this call, but the Arsacid had already lost his opponent.

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129 in a battle near Agbatana. He refused to pay the "Scythian" auxiliaries the wages they had demanded, and they began to roam the lands plundering. On Mesopotamian soil, they founded their own dynasty in Adiabene196 and defeated Phraates in a battle in which he fell (128). His successor Artabanus I (128-123), who was wounded by an arrow in the war against the Tocharians and died not long afterwards, paid off the "Scythians". They then returned to the east, to their homeland197.

These "Scythians" were previously unanimously recognized as the Saka198. But after it could be shown that they had already migrated to Kashmir around 155 southwest via the "PaE sse of the HaE ngebruE cken "199 , this interpretation is no longer an option. Since the proof that the name of the Scythians is in the name of the Judeans (above p. 35), is the , in the

"Scythian" opponents the Parthians just the JuE e-tschi

Tocharians, in the air200. All the more so as tradition describes the Tocharians as enemies of King Artabanus.

• is almost called201.

While the Parthians mainly settled in Seleucid territory, the Tocharians and Saka took the east. Today's Sistan, which given the name of the tribe, formed (alongside northwest India) the domain of the Sakish Kshatrapas202. An Arsakid collateral line was only able to assert itself in this core area of the East Iranian lands for a short time and under constant internal disputes203. Later, princes of Sakid descent ruled again in Sistan and northwest India205. What remained of Alexander's work was his name, which never lost its magic. Until recent times206 small dynastic families in the Hindu Kush claimed to be descendants of Alexander. And the Mirs of Badakhshan even had their horses descended from Bucephalus . . There then remained an after-effect of a cultural nature. Hellenization had pursued with particular vigour in the East. Greek temples rose in the Afghan mountains, as a recent discovery has shown208. Of course, Greekness did not remain unmixed. Those pure, classical formations in the best sense of the word, which show the oldest traces of the Greek-Bactrian kings209, . The Greek forms were interspersed with indigenous forms, but at the same time they permeated them and thus helped the as yet unformed ideas to find pictorial expression. The Greeks were particularly influential in the field of sculpture. When the Bactrian rulers

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When they subjugated north-western India, they fell under the spell of the Buddha's teachings. Without becoming Buddhists themselves, they took sides for them and against Brahmanism210. Since then, a Greek-Indian hybrid art began to shape the types of Buddhist iconography that had later become canonical. The image of the Enlightened One himself, as it appears in statues and reliefs from Oxus to Mathura, goes back to a Greek model211.

When the ruler of one of the five into which Bactria, dependent on the Tocharians, had fallen apart, took control of the other four212 , an advance into India began. Under Kanishka, the third of these rulers, the Kushan or Kuei Shuang in Chinese213, the teachings of the Buddha were accepted by the king and the people. In Taxila, the Kushans established another settlement further north (Sirsuch)213a in place of the Greek-Parthian settlement (Sirkap). Thus it seemed that the nomads had to the nature of the conquered land. But it is still doubtful whether the Bactrian Kushan were really of Tocharian origin. The Chinese sources by no means speak in favor of this214, and a historian of the late imperial period expressly testifies that the Bactrians ruled over the Tocharians at that time, not the other way around215. On the other hand, everything that is known about the nomadic tribes shows that preserved their ancestral ways well. In the finds made in Hadda, south of Jelalabad216 , among the smooth and succulent products of Greek-Buddhist 18.22 mixed art, types with a more powerful form catch the eye. The lean, pronounced , the bashlyk, the hair and moustache costume reveal them to be members the northern Iranian steppe peoples217. Four-headed warrior figures in jewelry

of their weapons are added218. According to Chinese sources, the Tocharians retained the nomadic way of fighting with the bow219. They did not even take up residence in Bactria proper. Their camp was located north of the Oxus, but still on the edge of the steppe220. One will have to imagine it as the Hunnic camp of the Han period, which was uncovered in Transbaikalia221. The Kshatrapas of the Saka also the Central Asian moustache costume and had themselves depicted on horseback and in knightly attitudes on their coins222. They emphasized their origins everywhere: in the pride of their warrior status or by sitting in front of the nomad tent or on nomad carpets223 and presenting themselves to their subjects224. Even Kanishka appears in his sitting and standing pictures, which

were found in Mathura in northern India225 , in the costume of the nomadic princes: in a caftan226 reaching to the , with club and dagger, with riding boots and spurs.

In confrontation with the Greek heritage, an art of its own kind developed in eastern Iran and northwest India, which has been described as Greco-Iranian227 . In contrast to Greek-Buddhist art, which in the same regions, it was not the result of a mixture of Greek and Indian elements, but of forms that the nomads had brought with them. Nor did it have any

Buddhist content, but was secular, not religious. In terms of form and content, it many similarities with the Greek-Sarmatian mixed art, which had grown out of similar conditions. The excavations that have been made in Taxila, especially from the times of the Sakic

rule, the connection with SuE drußland clearly emerges228.

The impact of this Greek-Iranian art continued into the 2nd and 3rd centuries, perhaps even later229 . The frescoes of Bamijan230, Dochtar- i Noshirvan and the Kuh-i Khwadja231 belong in this context. It seems like a symbol when the Greek Eros appears on horseback at the latter site in the Iranian nomadic manner232. This intertwining of the two areas is also evident in minor arts. The Iranian influence is particularly evident in the costume233, but also in the prominence of the hunting scenes234 and the king's enfeoffment with the ring of dominion235 . When Ardezhir rose up against the centuries-long rule of the steppe peoples, he did not content himself defeating the Parthians. He also reached to eastern Iran. He must have seen his natural adversaries in the states that the Central Asian tribes had established on the soil of the former Achaemenid Empire. At first, the Sasanids seemed to be successful there too. Ardezhir moved as far as Nishapur, Merw and Balch and into the land of Khwarizm, south of the Aral Sea. The Kush anshah and the Saka princes paid him homage236. Shapur I advanced again to Khwarizm, also to Gurgan237. Under him, Sasanian rule extended as far as the of the Indus238. Perhaps it reached as far as Taxila238a. When Shapur I described himself as "king of the kings of Iran and non-Iran",239 this was no more a mere claim in the East than it was in the West after the defeat of Valerian. Since Vasudeva, the last Kushan, from 230 AD onwards, Sasanian deputy kings with

one of the preceding, different MuE nzreihe ™\ Peroz, the brother of Shapur I., replaced the native Kushans as governor of Bactria, whose title he nevertheless . He attempted to establish his own religious policy by favoring Mani (see p. 47f. below) and Buddhism.) and Buddhism 24<> The great inscription of Paikuli24* tells in Parthian and Persian of the victory of the Sasanid Narseh (293-303) over his predecessor and rival. All the foreign rulers sent their congratulations on this victory, it says. Next to the Kushan Shah and the Khwarizm Shah, next to the "Caesar of Rome", the Shah of the Sakans appears. They are the of the four regions of the world, a traditional idea2" The rule of the Sasanids over the East was at its . Bahram II (276-293) had conquered Sakestan and elevated his son and successor Bahram III (he reigned for only four months in 293) to Sakan Shah242".

It is not our task to describe the progress. In the course of the 4. century received the The nomadic Central Asian element was reinforced by the ^lornten24*. In the Chinese Wei lio, which was written around the middle of the 3rd century written century, appears for the first time the kingdom of the Hu-t'o of the later Hephthalites or White Huns2". Founded by

one sub-tribe of the Hun people on their westward migration (see p. 60 below), it was located northwest of Sogdiana.The inhabitants were nomads and were able to muster a force of 10,000 men. With the conquest of Bactria, this people was to become one of the most dangerous opponents. opponent of the Sasanians develop. The threat posed by the nomads of the east and north-east was joined by the Alanian danger. Situated beyond the Caucasus, but with their eastern foothills extending into the

The Alans had already threatened the Parthians in the vicinity of the Aral Sea (see p. 86 below). Under Nero's reign, they invaded Armenia and Media2". The following period saw the return of their invaders2". Their target was the Caspian Gates, the pass between Tiflis and Vladikavkaz, which, according to legend, Alexander the Great had with iron gates246.
The defense against the peripheral peoples thus proved to be the fate of the Sasanian Empire. It had to the same task that had fallen to Rome and China of the Hau (see p. 58f. below). Just as in Iran and China the defense against the horsemen and steppe peoples took up a large part of the forces, this defense took place at home and abroad in the same forms. Not

Only the Middle Kingdom sought to protect itself against its unwelcome neighbor with a system of barriers (see p. 77f.): Iran resorted to same means.
The times of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom already saw the emergence of such fortifications247. The Jaxartes formed a natural barrier, which was reinforced by military colonies and fortified posts; Alexander had gone ahead with similar installations to protect Sogdiana. The second Seleucid had the oasis of Merw surrounded by a wall after a nomadic raid248. In times, such walls protected the area of Bochara, Samarkand and Balch249. When the Chinese Chang-k'ien entered the country in 128 BC, he found walled cities everywhere250. They provided protection against the raids of the nomads.
The situation was similar under the Parthians251 and Sasanians. The remains of such a complex have been found in the Turkmen steppe, which survived the attacks of the cavalry tribes.

north252. The Persians were experienced in all kinds of ceremonial architecture. This is shown by Ammianus Marcellinus descriptions of the battles on the Mesopotamian border in the 4th century. According to Vegetius, they built permanent camps with trenches and a rampart of sandbags during the campaign252a. But this skill had already emerged before that. Shapur I conquered Hatra, which had been unconquered until then, after he had enclosed the city with a wall (see p. 134). In the event of danger, the city walls were secured by means of sculpted ramparts on the inside and outside253. Ctesiphon presents the same picture as the Roman Dura254. The excavations have brought to light the subterranean 24-25 passages reinforced with wood that the Sasanian siege army drove against the walls of the latter city255. And with them, the terrible traces of the that

took place there in the of the earth when the Persian mine clashed with the Roman mine. A corner tower of Dura was down, from which the Romans bombarded the besiegers' left flank, which was not protected by the shield, with their ballistae. The attack was matched by the defense. Literary tradition tells us of castles that were built on the borders of Gurgan under the Sasanids256. Later, a veritable line of defense was created. Towns and castles, ramparts and other buildings were "so that they would serve as protection for the inhabitants and they could flee to them in the event of sudden attacks by the enemy.
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could flow". Another system stretched from the western shore of the Caspian Sea up to the Caucasus, the mountains and TaE ler from Dagestan and Georgia

passing through. It closed the Albanian and Iberian gates to the Alans coming from the north. Just as one oneself against the desert and its sand dunes with solid vegetation, just as one builds dams against white water, so one tried to control the nomadic force with the barrier fortifications. Margraves are named: they were in charge of the long lines of defense.
5.
It is customary to ascribe equality in matters to the equestrian peoples of Asia 256a. To what extent this is true will still have to be dealt with (below pp.69f.; cf.157f.). At least the Parthians subscribed to this view. They may have become followers of Zarathustra earlier or later256b, but in no way did they themselves through zeal. Their kings allowed themselves to be burned, not abandoned, contrary to the Zarathustrian commandment257. The Parthian Dura, as rich as its pantheon is, does not feature Ahumarazda; there are not even any sanctuaries or temples of Iranian form. Worshippers in Parthian costume are found before Aphlad and Heracles, before the Palmyrene trinity, before deities of Babylonian, Mesopotamian, Arabian and North Syrian origin, but never before those of Mazdaism and Zarathustrism258.
What the religion of the Parthians was can only be guessed at; no reliable information has survived. The origins and beginnings of the people point the way. Just as they came from the steppes of the north and northeast, they will also have cultivated the forms of the faith that was indigenous there from time immemorial.
This belief is usually named after the shaman. But where were forms and ideas of a shamanistic nature to be found among the Parthians? Perhaps

not attention was paid to them, because they undoubtedly exist.
According to an ancient historian259 , the Parthians gave the signal for battle not with the tuba but with the tympanum. When the second day of the battle at Karrhai dawned260 , the Parthian army's resounding cries and war cries resounded at dawn, mingled with the muffled of hand drums. And while the ent
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When the courageous RoE merheer listened to these unfamiliar sounds, the archers had already approached, the sound of the sinews could be heard, the whizzing of the arrows . . . But the instrument also appears during the feast. When Caracalla celebrated his alleged marriage to the daughter of the Parthian , the tympanum resounded alongside flutes and pipes. And the Parthians indulged in dancing, as they always did when they were full of wine2". The hand timpani or hand drum is originally the shaman's instrument. He uses it during his , enchantments and disenchantments. He gathers the spirits he conquers in the shell of his drum, which he has decorated with the image of a circular world divided into four sectors. And with the same , which he knows how to stir with alternating short powerful strokes and long drawn-out whirls, he puts himself into that state of intoxication that enables him to penetrate to the highest of the heavens.

This tympanum always appears when the powers enchantment, rapture and ecstatic frenzy unfold. It was used in the service of Cybele and where orgastic cults would otherwise take hold of people; in its last, form it is found as a tambourine in the hands of women. Even there it is still a tool of coaxing

and enchantment. When the China of the Hau adopted the North Asian way of fighting, the appreciation of the ress and the equestrian gentleman's life - when it adopted all this, the hand drum also came into use as a martial instrument. We are inheriting the hands of the equestrian figures created by funerary art

(bottom p. 67). . .

These horsemen were enchanted, , possessed when they started to attack. In such a state, they threw themselves at the enemy, turned to flee in disguise, charged forward again, surrounded and him until they had hunted him to death like a wild animal. When the actor at the Parthian court, lifting up the head of the Crassus265, spoke the words of the BaE k

chen266 broke out:

We bring home carried from the mountain The glorious prey, the bleeding game - there he embraced with a Euripidean verse the two ideas that were characteristic of Parthian fighting: the killing of the hunted animal and the Bacchic obsession of the one who hunts and . The Parthians also the religious forms of their homeland in other respects. In addition to the remains of 43

Another peculiarity of North Asian peoples is present alongside shamanistic beliefs: thinking and living in animals, being moved by them. It received its artistic expression in the "animal style"; even in times, among the Parthians of Mesopotamia, it is still recognizable in traces (above p. 20 f.). No wonder that the confessors of Zarathustra felt themselves to be in opposition to the Turanian invaders to the last267. The situation was different with the new master race, the Persians, and the royal dynasty through which they risen.

In the story of Ardezhir, the "splendor of the royal "268 appears as the decisive power. This divine entity, which is referred to as Chvarna in the holy scriptures of the Iranians269 , gives the hero success. Accordingly, the coins of the Greek-Bactrian kings depict this Chvarna under the figure of Tyche; in Middle Persian scripture it is represented by an Aramaic ideogram that means nothing other than "GluE ck "270.

If Chvarna now appears as a ram that follows Ardeschir and catches up with him, this has its in the Greek legend. For it was a ram whose possession secured the reign of the king in Pelops' succession271. Hermes had given the animal to Atreus; its fleece and wool were of a golden color. Gold and celestial splendor are also inherent Chvarna. For its name is related to the linguistic origin of the sun272. And fiery gold, coming down from heaven, plays the role elsewhere that is otherwise assigned to Chvarna: in that in the Scythian legend the two older brothers of the royal family try in vain to get hold of the glowing metal, but the youngest seizes it without hesitation or harm273 , he proves himself to be the divinely ordained ruler. Whoever can grasp the heavenly splendor of the chvarna or whoever is joined by it is called to kingship. This is the meaning of the Scythian legend and that of Ardeschir. Only a ruler of Iranian blood can possess such splendor, and that is why he is called the "Iranian" or - which amounts to the same thing here - the "Aryan. "274 Conversely, the Turanian hero Frahrasyan tries in vain in the saga: he does not succeed in seizing the "Chvarna of the Iranian peoples. "275 In such exclusive possession lies the divine destiny for Iran and Aryanism

was chosen as ruler. Ardeshir, who descended from the Achaimenids276 , was joined by Aries. For this house, like no other, had its pure lineage

emphasized: Darius called himself an Aryan of Aryan seed277. Conversely, the Parthian Ardewan, like all the kings of his tribe, must remain a mere primordial Turpator; he must not hope to rise up against the new bearer of Chvarna.

The circle of imagination unfolded here had penetrated the Zarathustrian system from older beliefs278 . But for Ardeshir's time it had long since become an integral part of this system. The Chvarna shared with Ormuzd the role of a royal tutelary deity. The first Sasanids have been depicted riding towards Ormuzd: the god presents his earthly counterpart with the ring of dominion279.

The novel of Ardeshir has its hero light the sacred Bahram fire in many places280. It is one of the five forms in which the element of fire, which is conceived as the son of the supreme god Ormuzd, is able to reveal itself. It is called by a name that once meant "dragons death" or "enemy's death" and the Vedic myth belonged to Indra, but now denotes the "victor" or "victory" in general281. The connection of this fire with the splendor of the royal power lies in the fact that the Chvarna Ardeschir has brought victory; it lies at the same time in its fiery essence itself. That is why the victor Ardeshir allows the sacred flame to share in his successes. When he to the

east, to Merw, Balch and the farthest lands of Khorasan, he killed many men and sent

their heads to the fire temple of Anahit, which stood in Istachr, in the heart of the Persian land282.

For Ardeschir, such worship of fire was ancient custom and more: it was heritage and obligation. One of his ancestors had been the ruler of that temple283. On the coins that the princes of Persis had struck in Seleucid times, the sanctuary of fire appears with the royal standard at its side and the ruler in a worshipful pose284. Ardezhir himself and those who followed him on the throne had the altar of fire appear on their prayers285; as great kings they continued the tradition of their homeland. Fire were founded on a massive scale; some of these survived well into the Islamic period2850.

This preservation of an inherited cult is complemented by an act of renewal. The restoration of the sacred scriptures of the Zarathustrians, the creation of a sacred canon, is the religious feat of the Sasanians.

The fate of these writings, which are called Awesta in Middle Persian,286 has varied. , according to later legend, they were recorded in golden ink on cowhides and kept in the Achaemenid archives in Persepolis. Alexander, the destroyer of ancient Persian power and glory, had this oldest Awesta burned. A Parthian king had ordered the first collection of the surviving remains. Ardeshir completed this collection so that it became "a faithful image of the original light". He had the original manuscript deposited in the royal treasury ; a more

He put versions in the archive and others he had distributed throughout the country.

The collection of the Awesta was inconceivable without the involvement of the priesthood. We now know one of the most important , perhaps the founder of the Sasanian state church: Karder - from the inscription he himself placed on the Kaba-i Zerdusht287. Under the successors of Shapur I, he had risen from simple priest to chief mobed, chief priest and overseer of two of the most respected fire in Istakhr (p. 31 above). Tansar288 is named as the author of the Awesta editorship. It is also said that Ardeshir appointed forty thousand magicians for his undertaking, then selected first forty and then seven from their number289. These magicians or mobeds were judges and holders of spiritual power: each presided over his own district, and over all of them, like the king of kings, there was a

"Mobed of the Mobeds" is set. A pronounced hierarchy, alongside the political order, is visible here. And this clergy, as and powerful as any, was second to none in intolerance.

Ardeshir is said to have given the collection created under him canonical status. He had all Avestan writings that were not included banned. Under Ardeshir's successor, it is said, a separate court was created decide on religious disputes. It was the king's will that now that the light of true faith

was shining again, everything contrary to the truth be regarded as having been dismissed; no false religion should henceforth be tolerated290. Presumably the development was slower and less straightforward than this tradition would have us believe 291. Above all the collection the awestern writings under the first two Sasanids remains undisputed292. This is about the . The attitude in the reports,

was something new in the history of Iran. The Achaemenids also professed the Zarathustrian doctrine and were committed to spreading it in the countries of the empire293. Occasionally the preference for a follower of the Zarathustrian doctrine294 is encountered, as was under such conditions; there is also of the persecution of foreign gods295. Nevertheless, religious toleration was a fundamental feature of Achaemenid politics. In the new Persian Empire, on the other hand, after some initial hesitation2950 , the royalty and the priesthood created the concept of ; the state authorities felt compelled to enforce it unconditionally within the borders of the empire. The new principle soon turned against other religions, especially Christianity. The acts of martyrdom of the Syrian church295b testify to the persecution zeal of the Zarathustrian priesthood.

Mesopotamia and Babylonia were the seat of the religions against which the new attitude of the Sasanian state was directed. They sprang from the bosom of Hellenism there, which formed a special branch296 alongside that of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Italy297. Edessa2970, the Parthian Dura, Hatra, Seleukeia on the Tigris, Susa, the spas of Uruk298 give an image of this world its own. The Greekism that was taken over overlaid the ancient soil and was at the same time permeated by it2". Like Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia were also the home of a religious creative force, which manifested itself in the formation of many sects.

. Dura again made clear the coexistence of the different confessions: Greek, North Semitic, Arabic and Iranian gods300 , Christianity and Jews301 were united within its walls. The picture may been even richer on the lower course of the Euphrates, where, moreover, the later MandaEer-style sects had their headquarters302.

Babylonia was also the home of the religion whose founder emerged at the same time as the Sasanians. Mani, who came from a noble Parthian family303 , had originally belonged to a South Babylonian sect304 , until he his own doctrine in contrast to it. Christian and Greek ideas had come to him through gnostic mediation 305. In general, he belongs in the ranks of the great Gnostics; alongside Bardesanes of Edessa and Markion, he may be mentioned at some distance306. Mani's spiritual home is to be found in Babylonian Hellenism307 ; he was the last representative of this culture.

Mani succumbed to the enmity of the Zarathustrian priesthood. On the day of Shapur I's coronation, "when the sun was in the sign of Aries "307", he is said to have preached publicly for the first time308. The king's brother bestowed his favor on the religious and knew how to protect him309. The latter was allowed to present Shapur with a presentation of the doctrine written especially for him: the ruler gave permission for the mission in the empire310. Mani was in Shapur's entourage for years and perhaps took part in his campaign against Valerian310'. But under one of his immediate successors, the magi succeeded in having him accused and condemned. Karder (p. 46 above) himself was among his judges310b. Mani died in prison

or on the cross; according to another tradition, he was maltreated and his head hung at the city gate311.

6.

The Parthians only gradually grew into their Iranian environment; they only gradually adopted its forms. This applies not only to religion, but also to language. Although they were native speakers of an Iranian dialect, the Arsacids used Greek on their coins and in their inscriptions312. These great kings described themselves as philhellenes313; they had Greek tragedies performed at their court314. A preserved royal letter to the city of Seleukeia on the Eulaios315 shows that citizens of such Greek cities rose to the highest ranks, that the court chancellery wrote in Greek and that the Parthian grand ruler decided the city's internal disputes in accordance with Greek law. Under the Sasanids, the use of Greek in the royal inscriptions is only found sporadically and only at the beginning. The great inscription of Shapur I from the Kaba-i Zerdush, whose Greek text was written between 261 and 272, is the most recent example316. With the Greek state language, the commitment to Hellenism within the state disappeared altogether. In contrast to the neighboring Greek city of Seleukeia, Ctesiphon had a distinctly Persian character316". In general, an attitude became dominant that consciously on the Achaemenids and on the national Iranian. It referred to an older state, which was the right one, but which fallen victim to ruin in times of general decline. After Alexander's appearance, secular and spiritual anarchy, unbelief and ignorance had reigned in the country.

until the holy Adarpad had submitted to the Order of Fire in order to preserve the purity of the restored Avestan scriptures. This is the story of the book Arda-Viraf317, and the novel of Ardeschir presents the political reorganization in a similar way. Just as the pure doctrine of Zarathustra was used there, so here the kingship of the Achaimenids was used. Such a relationship already resulted from Ardeshir's ancestry. Persis was his homeland, his ancestor Sasan a descendant of the old royal house. In the bad times, this dynasty had supposedly also fallen into lowliness318 , just as everything else, empire and religion, had sunk from their former heights. Ardezhir's uprising, his move against Ardewan and the part-kings, must

necessarily have been the action of the rightful heir, who his ancestral kingdom as his property. For this reason, the new king wrote urgent letters to all the kings when he first appeared, in which he proved his right and called on them to obey him319. When Ardewan was defeated in battle, Ardezhir trampled on the cut-off head of the defeated . He had himself depicted riding over the corpse of the last Parthian king. Ormuzd grants him dominion, also on horseback and riding over the Ahriman321. Similarly, on the rock relief above the inscription of Bisutun, the Achaemenid can be seen striding over the beguiler and rebel Gaumata, who was lying on the ground322.

When the great Cyrus had defeated the king of the Medes, he built himself a new capital as a sign of victory: Pasargadai323. Ardezhir had achieved something similar, shaking off Parthian rule and elevating the Persian land to new . Again the victor established himself

a new residence to which he gave the name "Ardeshir's Splendor "324. In the second component, Artakhshir Khurrak took the name of Chvarna325 , which had conferred kingship on the first Sasanid (see p. 44 f. above). Otherwise, the model of the ancient Persian kings was also consciously adopted here326. Ardeschir's attitude towards Rome was consistent with this. He demanded the of all land up to the Propontis as an ancient Persian inheritance from its current owners. For Cyrus had conquered it and from then on it had remained in the hands of his successors until Alexander had destroyed the Achaemenid Empire. His, Ardeschir's, task to take back possession of the former property327.

Art was the expression of the new sovereignty; it received from the ruler

and court were the driving forces behind their work. Sasanian art also consciously on the models of Achaemenid art, insofar as they were still available to it328. The horse certainly a new and favored object in the Parthian period, but the images of homage, the tribute and triumphal , the sacrificial acts are the same that the ancient Persian period primarily used. Symmetry and the division of the overall picture into overlapping relief strips are found here and there. And just as it was the Persian dialect that conquered Iran under the Sasanids and from then on became authoritative for the national language and literature, Sasanian art originated in the same region. Its lie where most of the witnesses of the Achaemenid period are preserved; the direct connection is often present, frequently in rock art329.

Of course, even the Sasanian , as consciously national-Iranian as it and as opposed as it was to the illegitimate and divinely unwanted intermediate empire, could not completely renounce what the Parthian royal house had meant. It was the same as with chivalry and the way of fighting on horseback, which had simply been adopted. The principle of legitimacy could also be broken if it was considered advisable to form family relationship with the Arsacid dynasty in order to secure the newly acquired rule. In Ardeschir's novel, the latter takes Ardewan's daughter as his wife

after achieving victory and as a sign of it330. The later book of kings recounts the same event in lavish detail; it even wants its readers to believe that the heir to the throne and successor of Ardezhir, the king Shapur, was a son of that Arsacid princess331. Enough: the destroyer of the Arsacid house, as which Ardeshir is described to us332, knew how to stop himself in certain cases. Even when the Sasanian house was destined to fall, one of the Arab victors was not to the hand of a captured Persian king's daughter, so that she might lend him and his line royal splendor333.

After Ardewan's downfall, Ardeshir called himself "King of the Kings of Iran". This was because he wanted to establish his rule the part kings - the "little kings", as the rulers of the other were probably called in the German Middle Ages in contrast to the empire. However, his successor already bore the incomparably more demanding title of a

"King of kings of Iran and non-Iran" (p. 39 above). Such an attitude extended beyond national borders; it reveals a universalist claim. Even there

they followed in the footsteps of the Achaimenids. The claim from the successes in the east, where the rulers of Turan and the Indus region submitted to the king of Iran (see p. 39 f. below). It derived from the possession of Mesopotamia; it derived from the pride in the victories that had been won over Arab princes334 and over the Romans 6 7. In contrast to the Parthians, Roman supremacy was no longer , not even tacitly. As an explicit rival of Rome, they went to the practice of gold, a right that the Parthian kings had never arrogated to themselves. And the self-confidence of the new Sasanian power increased dramatically when it achieved what no predecessor ever managed: the capture of a Roman emperor. Shapur that he had captured the enemy ruler with his own hand335; in the same inscription he listed the Roman provinces as defeated kingdoms336. The Sasanid was not tired of celebrating the event in his memoirs. Then he appears on horseback, in the splendid finery of the Sasanian : a prisoner in Roman costume kneels before him. He wears shackles on his ; he raises his hands and head in supplication. The captive emperor Valerian is depicted; behind him, his hands humbly in the presence of his overlord, stands the emperor Cyriades337, whom Shapur had set up as an opposing emperor. In another relief, the king rides at the head of his army and again Valerian kneels before him. 10 The ring, the symbol of the reign taken from the Roman, is presented to the victor. And the spoils of war are presented to him in four rows, one above the other: the emperor's chariot and warhorse, a war elephant, leopards and lions on a chain, the imperial standard and the war treasure; followed by the prisoners, clad in the Roman toga338.

At such a moment, the Sasanid was allowed to believe that he rightly bore the title of lord over "Iran and non-Iran". He also to learn that was changeable. But the claim remained: the idea that a new world ruler had come with the new royal dynasty, as predicted by the astrologers in Ardeschir's novel339 , was not abandoned. When Darius in his inscriptions that "the Persian man's lance penetrated far away", that

"the Persian man far from Persia had defeated the enemy",340 if the Herodotean
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Xerxes was faced with the idea that his empire's borders coincided with those of Zeus' heaven 34\ the Achaemenid successors did not want to back.
Although Middle Persian history painting was undoubtedly the dominant art of its time342 , only meagre remains of its works have survived. Battles and wars were a favorite subject matter343; we know of one depicting the siege of Antiocheia. In another, the kings of the earth were gathered with the world ruler of Iranian origin344. FruE harabic art, in many respects the heir to Sasanian art, 81 continued this tradition. On the walls of an Umayyad pleasure palace we see the emperor of Byzantium, the last Visigoth king and the last Sasanid, the Negus of Abyssinia; they were all united around the seat of the caliph, both vanquished and (below, p. 11). SpaE troE mish art has not such objects either. When Attila possession of the imperial palace in Milan, his astonished gaze rested on the

View of a picture depicting the emperors on their thrones and the Scythian princes at their feet345.
It was the same claim to world domination that was made in Rome and in Ctesiphon. Only in moments great need did one recognize the equality of the other. When Narseh was defeated by Galerius and his tents and his women were in the hands of the victor, the tone was lowered for the first time. Rome and Persia, said the Great King's subordinate, were the two shining lights, the two eyes of the world that should not be hostile to each other; the Great King could only be defeated by a ruler like Galerius. But even then, the Oriental did not forget to remind the momentary victor of the changeability of human affairs346.
One may the importance of Sasanian Iran as one wishes, but no fair-minded Westerner would concede to it for a moment that it was on an equal footing with Rome. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it was a dangerous and successful opponent of the empire. What gave it this importance was the result of a unique historical constellation. It has often been remarked how much the Sasanian character had an impact - not on the beginnings of the Arab conquest, but on the empire of the caliphs in Baghdad. Perhaps this observation can be summarized more generally. Chivalry and nobility, tournaments and duels on horseback347,
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The feudal system as a moral bond348 , the state church, orthodoxy and , a universal empire with a theocratic character - all of this anticipates forms that are characteristic of the development towards the Middle Ages. And at a time when Rome

not yet taken such a direction with the same determination and success. Therein lay the peculiarity of this unique entity: it anticipated what was to

come, at least for a period of time, more strongly than its rival in the West. The Sasanian Empire was the first to bear the typical medieval character. That is precisely why it had to take the lead - for that period, but not for longer. As soon as the other side had grasped the course of events, they caught up, and Roman form and mastery proved to be to the Orient even in this late period.
53

- THE FAR EAST

History is war history, it has been said. The sentence is with deliberate one-sidedness, and its corresponds to this. It suffices to say that there are epochs in which history was war history, and that they were among the most incisive and momentous.
China has always opposed war. The perfect regiment consists in forestalling and turmoil, and it is the height of the art of war to avoid an opportunity for war, it is once said1. Or: The army of the Son of Heaven will be maintained to secure peace, not to undertake wars of aggression to And but are

In the past, decisive epochs in Chinese history were characterized by changes in warfare.
Around the middle of the second millennium BC, the valleys of the WeS-ho, the Huang-ho and their were filled with a farming culture3. Millet and rice, but not yet wheat, were planted in the fertile loess soil. Pigs and cattle were . Bone and bone were used as tools; square axes and knives were made of polished and pierced stone. The bow was used for hunting4. The colorful pottery has been preserved in impressive pieces5.
Following an earlier immigration from the Eastern black earth region, a new people, the Shang, this area. They came from the West: this is shown by their ornamentation, which had adopted the swastika and diamond chain, spirals and maEers in Kansu6. that they were7 , they brought with them an animal style8 , which was above all on the magnificent bronze , but also on the fittings of their chariots. In Central Asia, they seem to have come into contact with the Indo-European that had advanced there. They adopted the chariot9 and the death mask10 of the chariot rulers. For the first time, they brought the bronze helmet, perhaps also the armor11 to China. They used superior offensive weapons such as the reflex bow12 , the long lance and the halberd13 from the fast, maneuverable chariots with resounding success. These immigrants thus to be part of the great movement that
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was based on the chariot and originated in the Eurasian steppes14. Regardless of the race15,

the Shang were a warrior and conquering people 1f, not peaceful immigrants. They brought a change to their entire existence. They did not live from their hard work, but from the tributes of the subjugated. They did not live in villages, but ruled over the land and the peasants subject to tribute from the "Great City of Shang "17 . And they created a state form for the first time.

A second transformation of warfare took place in China. It coincided with the against the Huns and against the neighboring nomads to the north.

1.

The battle against the Huns took place in the years when the emerging Rome first felt the power of the surrounding barbarians18. It was the time after the epochal year 168 B.C., when the in Spain and North Africa, in South Gaul and in the Balkans taxed the nascent empire'utmost. Around the turn of the century and thereafter, the first contact with Germanic tribes and the newly awakened Orient took place19.

The fight against the Huns entered a decisive stage with the rise of the Han Dynasty. However, the first emperors of this dynasty were not granted final success on the northern border. Time and again, enemy cavalry armies broke through the defensive wall, which since Shi huang-ti (259-210) had protected the entire north of the empire from the northern slopes of Si-k'ing shan in Kan-su to Liao-jang in Korea20. With 1,400,000 horsemen, the Shan-juE of the Huns advanced as far as the heartlands in the Wei Valley in 166 BC; he directly threatened the capital Ch'ang- ngan21. It was not until the reign of Emperor Wu ti (141- 87) succeeded in defeating the opponent decisive blows.

to bring22. Cavalry leaders such as Li Kuang, WeS Ts'ing and the yet-to-be-named Ho K'uE -p4ing advanced into Hun territory in varied and costly campaigns. The enemy's resistance slowly waned. An Asian war tends to take on Asian proportions. "The forces ofHan were deep in Hunnish territory; they had slain the enemy there and chased them back and forth. As a result, the children were born immature or dead, the population was exhausted, exhausted and embittered, and everything was in ruins.

longed for peace", it says as early as 85 23.

"Countless numbers of the Hun people were , wounded, lost, wandered into the distance with their livestock and died or disappeared there. "24 "Many tens of thousands men and horses, along with cattle and sheep, were slaughtered. The number doubled due to a famine that carried off three tenths of the population and half of their livestock. The people of the Huns fell prey to the most extreme destruction, a general decay; empires that had hitherto been subject to them loosened themselves from them like tiles from a stormy wind "25. "The people starved, and they cooked and roasted each other for "26.

Finally, the inevitable happened. In 54 BC, the then Shan-juE of the people, Ho-han-je, declared himself a vassal of the emperor27; the tribes living north and northwest of the Huang-ho thus came under Chinese suzerainty. Twenty years , the western part of the Hun Empire, which stretched from the headwaters of the Ob to the Aral Sea and the Urals, also collapsed after a desperate struggle28. West of the Issyk kul, the Shan-juE himself fell in battle; his head was sent to the capital29. At the same time, a new expansion began in the west. The Orient and Gaul came under

Roman rule. Under Augustus, the borders of the empire were pushed forward along the Rhine, Danube and Euphrates. The turmoil that followed the reign of the usurper Wang Mang gave the Huns and neighboring peoples such as the Wu-huan and Sien-pi another opportunity to raid the borderlands in the north. But the younger Han (from 22) continued the policy of their as soon as relations had stabilized. The great general of the emperor Chang ti, Pan Ch'ao, broke the resurrected Hun power in a series of campaigns from 73 AD onwards30. Purposeful and , inventive and unquestioning31, Pan Ch'ao knew how to complete the subjugation of the western lands32. When, after twelve years of service, he for permission to return and die in his homeland33 , he had achieved more than any Chinese had ever done before. Supported by his homeland34 , he had subdued the Tarim Basin as far as Kashgar, following his principle of defeating the barbarians by the barbarians35 . Around the year 100 AD, at the same time as Trajan's policy of conquest began in the Roman West, China's power in Inner Asia was at its .

Under this pressure, the northern and western Hun tribes left their previous seats and turned westwards36. A hundred years later, they could already be found on European territory. Between the Ob and Volga rivers, the Caspian Sea and the Iranian foothills, they a new empire37. Shortly before this, after the middle of the 2nd century AD, the Goths as far as the Black Sea on their south-eastern migration (see p. 95f. below). Both areas stood side by side until

the Avars formed a new state in the Altai region around the middle of the 4th century. They pushed the tribes living on the other side of the Irtysh and on Lake Balkash westwards. As a result, the Huns abandoned their residences, which had advanced as far as the Volga, and threw themselves at the Goths. The year 375 not only marks the high point of the migration of peoples: the stream of eastern and western events merged into one bed. In the meantimethe conflict continued on the Chinese northern border. At the end of the 2nd century, when the heavy defensive battles on the Danube front for Rome began, the Eastern Hunnic states remaining in the homeland once again slipped out of China's sphere of command38. Around 150, rule the Tarim Basin was lost. The loss of the outer provinces - the territories on the right bank of the Rhine and Dacia - can be compared. Just as the economy of the Roman Empire was shaken by inflation and brought to the

brink of collapse, so too was the China of the later Han39. Even the great conqueror Wu ti left behind a state budget that was ruined by wars40. And as the successes of Chinese weapons dwindled, so did the booty, the proceeds of which had filled the gaps in the budget41. Prices rose enormously, especially horses, which were needed for warfare42. Once, according to an official report, only 30000 of the 140,000 horses sent to a campaign . The stock of horses was so reduced by these losses that warfare against the Huns had to be temporarily suspended43. Around 220 AD, the Han state collapsed due to internal turmoil. Once again, after half a century of separation, the "three empires" (220-265/280) were united. The emperor Wu ti fuE gte

For a short time, he brought together what broken apart with the fall of the Han. As little as he otherwise resembled him44, in this he corresponded to Diocletian and his immediate , under whom the Roman Empire regained its early form. In the meantime, Tungusic tribes45 had invaded the territories conquered by the Huns46

territories of Outer Mongolia. They thus became neighbors and opponents of the empire. The result was that, encouraged by previous barbarian settlements47 on northern Chinese soil, the Huns and Tunguses, Tibetans and Tanguts48 occupied all the land up to the Huang-ho49. Once again the unity of China broke apart; its center shifted to SuE den, on the banks of the Jang-tse50. Once again there was unity with the West: the relocation of the imperial capital to Byzantium, the founding of Germanic states on Roman imperial soil51.

2.

Until around the year 300 BC, China adhered to the way of fighting that it had first become acquainted with through the Shang. Towards the end of the Chou dynasty, it is reported52 that the army consisted of a thousand chariots. Each of these contained three men: the driver in the middle, a spearman on the right and an archer on the left. The chariot was followed by 72 foot soldiers and 25 other escorts, so that each chariot a troop of one hundred men.

With the older Han53 or probably even : in the that preceded the fall of the Chou54, the chariot was out of its dominant position. It was no longer sufficient to fight the agile horsemen of the neighboring nomads to the north. They were forced to use

to successfully confront the formidable opponent, to learn from him in the art of war55. King Wu- ling of Chao (325-298) was the first to make the turnaround: his army adopted the clothing of the Huns and practiced archery on horseback. He then destroyed the forest Huns in the 26th year of his reign.

The Huns, or as the Chinese called them: theHiung- nu56 , were of Turkic origin, even if they are not yet referred to as Turks57 . Iranian and Mongolian components are also recognizable58. From their Iranian neighbors, the Huns had weapons and costume59 , perhaps even riding60 .

By his innovations, Wu-ling replaced driving with riding; the long and loose garment of the Chinese with the tight-fitting costume of the equestrian : the jacket and trousers held together by a belt61 ; the high riding boots replaced the Chinese shoe. But the development did not stop there. The Shi Ki says of the Huns: "They wander in search of water and plants.
- 61

back and forth. They have no walled cities or permanent homes, nor do they farm. In quiet times, they wander around with their cattle, shooting and quadrupeds to make a living. As soon as danger threatens, the men train for battle." It is expressly emphasized that "the strength of warriors lies in their skill in drawing bows". Even children were taught the craft of arms by having them ride on sheep and shoot at all kinds of small animals with bow and arrow 62. Any soldier who was strong enough to draw a bow became an armoured horseman.

related. The best sharpshooters of the Huns were called ""63. In addition to long-range weapons, the Huns used spears and swords in close combat. The disguised flight to cause the enemy to their order and act rashly was characteristic of their fighting style. It by no means excluded bravery in close combat64. All this was brought into a system at the end of the 3rd century BC by the most famous of their : Mau-tun, or Moduk by his native name65. He replaced the naturally evolved but unregulated fighting style of his warriors with trained tactics. He strictly ensured that the wild troops military orders. "Whistling" arrows, fired by the , direction and target. For the first , an orderly and organized cavalry appeared in place of the randomly attacking 43 troops66. The Chinese memorial maps 67 also show the Hunnic horsemen no longer as mere : they also wield halberds and long mounted lances. They use them to push or pull their opponents off their horses. Some are already armored. Fighting in closed order is also illustrated. Reserves are waiting in ambush for the order to attack, as historians report68. The king (Shan-juE) of the Huns, explicitly referred to as such, gives orders to someone kneeling before him or receives a message from him.
The innovation had to have an immediate effect on the Chinese army. If they had adopted the enemy's mounted archery weapon in order to overcome them, they had to the same with their cavalry tactics. The establishment of the new cavalry was the work Emperor Wu ti (141-87). In addition to the bow, he introduced the broad slashing sword69 ; the spear was replaced by the long mounted lance. Also

Saddle70 and stirrup71 were borrowed72 from the nomads, as was a horse whip comparable to the Russian Nagaika3973. The four types of Chinese troops now included
62
After the chariots, the cavalry was the second74 ; there was a general75 "of chariots and horsemen". A tomb relief from the Han period shows a battle

40 on a bridge. Horsemen appear next to chariots covered with parasols, archers next to lancers; foot soldiers also take part in the battle76. The same picture emerges in the historians' reports. During the assault on the capital of the Huns' last ShanjuE, shield bearers were in the front line; they formed a Roman-style testudo77. They followed by others armed with the lance, and finally the . A hail of arrows accompanied the attack and the cavalry stood ready to prevent the besieged enemy from breaking out78. The cavalry was divided tactical units. The huge army that was deployed for the latter operation, including reinforcements and foreign auxiliaries, numbered 40,000 men, mostly mounted. It was divided into six divisions, three each operating separately under a special commander79. In addition to Chinese troops, there were also units recruited from subjugated tribes or even from Hun and Turkic peoples80. Names such as "white tigers" seem to indicate a strong corps feeling. "Without exception, they are brave, exceptional , agile men, strong enough to take on tigers; they are who hit the target right in the center," was how one leader described his troop81. Lighter packs on the march allowed for greater mobility, greater

Range of operations82. The armament was so superior to that of the enemy that one Chinese warrior was counted as five of the enemy83. They relied on stronger bows, longer arrows, longer lances, better breastplates and sharper swords84. The new equestrian weapon was success right from the start. Its organizer Ho K'uE -p'ing, an accomplished horseman and since his youth, defeated the Huns in six successive field battles85.
"Not an army commander by profession", says Ho K'uE -p'ing86,

"He had never warriors and horses as good as his. Those he were always the best, and so he could venture deep into enemy territory with them. He was always at the head of the army with the most capable riders, and he also the good fortune bestowed on him by heaven to never in dire need."
"The general's personal reputation grew ," adds the reporter.
63

44-45 The tomb of this equestrian general has been preserved87. Images of standing and lying horses surround the . A prostrate Hun lies resting, still clutching his bow, under the hooves of a particularly stately steed. The lack of saddling and fencing shows that the animal itself was regarded as the victor88. In fact, it was primarily the horse that determined the tactics. It was the basis of all martial activity, contemporaries remarked89. In addition to the fighting skills of his warriors, the Hun ruler praised "the strength of his excellent horses "90. The first Hun emperor prided himself on having won his victories and his reign on the back of his horse91.

The horse paintings on Ho K'uE -p'ing's tomb still show the type of horse inherited from China, which went back to the Przewalski's horse918. It was subsequently47 replaced by a breed of western origin, descended from the tarpan 92. Their range extended as far as the Altai, where horses of the Iranian breed were found in the Pazyryk (p. 21 above)92a. During his stay in the western countries, Chang-k'ien had learned of the

"blood-sweating" steeds of Ferghana93. After his second stay, he brought such animals home with him (116 BC): Steeds of Parthian and of heavy construction, as the wall carvings in Dura still show in later times94. They were found to be stronger and more suitable for the new military requirements than those that had previously been used in China. On hearing of an even more perfect breed, the Chinese undertook a military campaign against the city of Erh-schih for the sole purpose of obtaining some specimens95. Despite several failures they succeeded: the emperor himself

"made a song to the celestial horses of the western end of the world "96. Since then, the new horse type 48-

19.63 alongside the old one in Chinese art97. It was enhanced to designs that are not entirely dissimilar to Selene's steeds from the Parthenon gable98. The penetration of the western horse breed descended from the Tarpan can still be observed today in the animal geography of northwestern China99. South of the Kuku-nor and the Amne-matschin, eastern Tibet was invaded by the warlike Ngolok tribe. The horse bred there, which is also widespread in derivations and cuEmer forms in the rest of Tibet, is a descendant of the Przewalskian primeval horse. Of the same origin was the species found in the foothills of the Gobi and the

Mongolia. 46' This is shown by the bronzes from there100 (below p. 72 f.): the clumsy 64

The heavy head, the massive neck, the low withers, the short legs in contrast to the stocky torso make the Przewalski type unmistakable101. The Hsining horse, which is found around Kuku-nor and south of Nanschan, is different. The high build, the narrow and long, finely structured and expressive head with an equally powerful neck meant a difference that led away from the indigenous primeval horse and towards the Tarpan. This and the peculiar gait, which the forequarters to project high and the hindquarters to reach out, the curved and the fleshy thighs establish the link to the new type that is encountered on the of the 40.42 Han period. Here we have the descendants of the breed of higher introduced from Ferghana, brought to the "fattened form" in the Chinese manner102. Even today, the Hsining horse is mainly ridden by the local princes103.

A final innovation in tactics was the introduction of heavy armored cavalry. It began in the 3rd century AD, coinciding with the appearance of the Cataphracts and Clibanarians in the Roman army. Both new coincide in terms of both subject matter and time.

In the depictions of the Han period, mounted lance and halberd warriors104 appear alongside the archers. War horses wear a low-slung covering of leather105. Gradually, the 32 rhinoceros skin scales preferred in the older period were reinforced with leather, copper or iron scales106. But it was the introduction of an Iranian invention107 , the or lamellar armor108 (p. 24f.), that brought about change.

In the 3rd century AD, we first hear of such armor, made of small plates of bone, mostly iron109. These were no longer attached to a base of leather or fabric, but were bound together by leather cords to form a dense and cohesive mesh. Loose and stretchy, but at the same time extremely resistant, it covered the limbs of the combatant like a dress. The new armor provided greater protection and at the same time greater mobility.
Here too, the Central Asian equestrian tribes led the way. They were closest to the Iranians; some of them were of Iranian origin themselves. But there was another special reason. The Chinese, if they did not invent the crossbow, were the first to use it on a large scale. Thanks to an ingenious trigger mechanism, they knew the usefulness of the

weapon110. Its penetrating power soon brought it into dangerous competition with the nomads' bows. The effectiveness of Chinese crossbows111 forced their Hun and Iranian opponents to adopt the innovation of reinforced armor112. 32 A group of tomb figurines113 shows foot soldiers in lamellar armor and horsemen side by side, with the horse also armored. The faces are heavy and broad, the limbs strong; their tall stature is emphasized by their clothing. These warriors belonged to the barbarian tribes that took possession of Chinese soil from the 4th century onwards. Even before that, they had formed the bravest part of the army114. Horses and warriors already bore the

armor, which later became common, especially among the Tang115.
There is also evidence in the area of the equestrian themselves. According to the Chinese historian Ssema-Ts'ien (died around 85 BC) 92-93, the Huns as armored horsemen1". These appear on the rock carvings from Mount Sulek, northwest of Minussinsk. Here, cataphracts with a full lance are seen running ahead at a "flying" gallop117. They wear conical helmets, with scale armor or a hanging chain mesh the face, and a long armored shirt reaching down to the knees or an armored leather caftan118 that goes down to the feet. Another rock drawing119 , also from the upper Yenisei, shows a horseman armed a horseman's lance, bow and cuirass as well as a small, hammer-like battle axe. The armored shirt extends to the upper arms and the middle of the thighs.
When the Chinese adopted armor, this represented a technical and tactical advance for them, as it did for the Romans and Sasanians. Here too, they the weapons of their opponents in order to overcome them. Among the nomads, on the other hand, the "invention" of metal armor reaches into deeper areas. The "technical progress" is based on ideas of the religious world to which the Central and North Asian as a whole adhered120.
The armor with attached metal scales and the iron lamellar armor are reminiscent of the shaman's costume. The shaman covers his dress with various iron , especially with images of his spirits - often so thick that the fur underneath is no longer visible121. On a real sha

The Yakuts' shaman's skirt contains 30-40 pounds of iron; according to their belief, this ornament does not rust because it has a soul. The idea that there is a relationship between the shaman's skirt and the armor of the Central Asian and Iranian equestrian peoples is obvious122. Some shamans wear iron, scale-like plates on their shoulders or arms, which look like the original form of such armor123. In their fairy tales, the Yakuts speak of the shaman's skirt as the beautiful iron armor124. Chinese clay figures from the Han period depicting exorcising shamans are actually clad in scale armour125. A main component of the shaman's costume is a polished, round copper plate, which, on the chest or back, serves as a defense against enemies126. The first shaman was supposedly ordered to put on this plate so that it would protect his body against the weapons of enemies127. It can still be seen today in Chinese128 and Tibetan129 armor, which preserve the old forms. The role of the blacksmith among the nomads130 is also important in this context. He is not only the skilled craftsman: he is also in possession of special . "Blacksmiths and shamans come from the same nest" is a Yakut saying. The blacksmiths occupied high ranks, right up to the rank of king. In the epic poetry of almost all Mongolian tribes, darchan means "hero" or "hero".
"free knight "131 but it can also mean the "blacksmith" or the heavenly lord of the forge132.
The idea can only be hinted at here, not elaborated133. The metal armor is accompanied by a second that the same origins: the drum. Its use, as a timpani or tambourine, had already been encountered among another equestrian people: the

Parthians (above p. 42f.). They opened their attacks by beating drums or kettledrums. The Chinese cavalry also used this means134. Drums and cymbals can already be found in the armies of the early Han135. To their effectiveness, the drums were smeared with the blood killed enemies, just like swords136. A clay figurine137 from the time of the Northern Wei (386-534) shows a horseman wielding a double kettledrum; it is attached to either side of the saddle bow. The Wei, who are sometimes referred to as Tungusic people, were Turks according to their language, and in any case belonged to one of the equestrian tribes138. As in the case of the Parthians, the horsemen's kettledrum also traces back to Central Asian origins. It was part of the overall equipment that

China over from its nomadic neighbors. And it was the shaman's device139.
One step further is the fact that the world of the shaman is uniquely linked to the animal experience and animal hunting.
3.
Under pressure from the Huns and other equestrian nations, China's military leaders felt compelled to abandon the heavy foot soldiers and outdated chariots. They were joined by a cavalry that fought with heavy

and light weapons in the Central Asian style. The new army had as little to do with what preceded it as the Parthian and Sasanian cavalry armies had with the foot soldiers and chariots141 of the Achaemenids. Here, as there, a new army was integrated into the boundaries of a different kind of old and new army.

advanced civilization. It will be shown that a related process in the Roman world is fully realized.
has drawn. . .

The nomadic did not only give the Middle Kingdom a new tactic, but the extent of what was taken over was by no means by warlike forms. The Chinese also received Buddhism via Central Asia. . % , ,
From the Ganges Valley upwards, the religion of the Enlightened One had urgently the Indian north-western border. The Greco-Indian empire of Menander and his successors had Buddhism142 in marked contrast to Brahmanism and Hinduism. The Kushans, lords of Bactria and northwestern India (see p. 38 above), had followed suit. Kanishka and his people to Buddhism. The monuments stretching from the upper Swat region143 via Hadda144, Bamijan and Balch146 to the Oxus147 bear witness to this. This Buddhist art received decisive forms from the 16-17 Bactrian Greeks. It can be considered proven148 that the Buddha figure that appears in statues and reliefs from the Oxus to Mathura based on a model created by a Greek hand.
From the Kushan countries149 , Greek Buddhist art began its triumphal march, which was to lead it to Japan via China and Korea. In East Turkestan, you can see how the new religion and art penetrated the ancient sites of the South Road. Khotan is said to have been founded by the 68
The rulers of the newly founded city had adopted for themselves the names that common among the Kushans150.

The dryness of the Central Asian climate has preserved wood and wool, parchment and paper excellently. Just as the wooden skeletons of the houses are still stuck in the desert sand today, wooden tablets with Kharoshthi script have been found intact 28-29 over one and a half thousand years. These texts, like those in the Brahmi alphabet, correspond to the form of the two writing systems among the Kushans151. The seals that seal these 28 documents show the imprints of ancient gems152. Athena, Hermes and Zeus appear alongside depictions that are of Eastern origin in terms of form and content. Paintings with Buddhist content were found in Miran, but in a Greek-Indian style and perhaps created by Greek masters153. In terms of artistic form and racial origin, the heads are reminiscent of creations from Syrian or Egyptian Hellenism154. other respects, too, clearly perceptible influences from the Hellenistic East point the way. The fact that Buddhism was adopted by a nomadic people is shown by the wall paintings of the Tunhuang caves, which date from the T'ang period. They attempted to transform the interior of these into a veritable nomadic tent155.

China also learned about Buddhism in the same way. In the year 1 2 B.C. Between and , the first research was carried out. At that time, "a disciple of the court scholars named King Lu received from an envoy of the king of the Juchechi sutras that had been handed down word of mouth. "156 This is reported in the Wei lio, which dates back to the middle of the 3rd century157. When the Buddhist places of worship in northwest India, Bactria and East Turkestan were in their heyday, towards the end of the 2nd century AD at the earliest, the legend of Emperor Ming ti's dream was formed: the appearance of a golden man

of tall stature and a lamp on its head was interpreted as Buddha158. The Yearbooks of the Eastern Han added that "images and statues have been produced in the Middle Kingdom ever since "159. By this they meant the penetration of Greek-Buddhist art.

Like the Parthians, the equestrian peoples on China's borders were without any pronounced religious beliefs. We know too little about the internal in the Kushan empire say who was actually the bearer of Buddhism: the settled population of Indian, Iranian and Greek origin.

of Tocharian origin or the nomadic Tocharians; but everything speaks in favor of the former. Shamanism, which practiced everywhere among the equestrian peoples, is not a religion in the strict sense160 . It has no dogmas and no fixed cult rules; it does not even have its own myth. Everything is based on the respective : the shaman acts according to his own law. What is referred to as the unity of shamanism is actually a sequence of personal expressions and individual actions. Since shamanism is not a religion, but a form of behavior that remains applicable to content of very different kinds, it is able to exist alongside other religions. Just as Islam and shamanism, Christianity and shamanism are not mutually exclusive in today's Siberia161 , the same applies the relationship with Ruddhism. The Mongols it in the form of Tibetan Lamaism, but the inherited shamanistic forms and practices continued to exist alongside it162. In the Bactrian empire of the Kushans, too, one can trace it under the cover of a graE cizing form,

19 the after-effects of the old. In a relief from Hadda163, which stands alone among the smooth clichés of the local sculpture , the obsession with the traditional shamanistic world breaks through, as it were. The costume of the woman depicted, especially the long cloak draped her head 16\, points to nomadic origins; the racial expression to a class (Himalayan race) that can still be seen today in neighboring Kafiristan165. Thus it came about that in the first centuries a. Zw. shamanism claimed its place alongside Buddha's teachings and also had an influence on China166. His path and charisma can also be recognized primarily through art. At the time when the reorganization of the army was taking place, two phenomena emerged that marked a new epoch in China's

art history. On the one hand, the circle of the depicted increased, especially from the animal world. And in connection with the change in content, there was also a change in form: a new animal style. Both were the consequence and expression of what had taken place in the military sphere167. The art of ancient China was already determined by animals. The archaic 35.37 bronze , ranging from the Shang to the end of the Chou, bear witness to this. This art expresses itself in hieratic forms, in artful interlacing and counter-interlacing168. Animal masks (t'ao tieh) stand out from the or spiral as the ground. Goggle-eyes, framed by eyelids, torn-open mouths drape towards us. Dragons and cicadas,

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bird-like creatures are also arranged in a contrasting way; animal legs form the , feline predators the handles. The swelling body of the sculpture is by an aristocratic composure . Nach

centuries, this world of forms began to disintegrate. The draE ning creative power subsided in rigid bondage169.

At the end of the 4th century BC,170 a new movement began to take . It was expressed less on sacred bronzes than in other art forms that were only now appearing on the scene: large sculptures in stone, reliefs, inlaid bronzes171, the relief bands of large clay vessels172 and, last but not least, a developed decorative art in metal. Everywhere the animal bodies begin to themselves from their torpor. They become agitated, passionate and energetically animated; in pathetic battle scenes173 a hitherto unknown willingness to be seized the animal being is revealed. The horse appears alongside the traditional animal world. Single or ridden, lying down or in motion174

- You try to get hold of it in ever new images. It is as if one has realized in amazement what this animal is all about. In the art of the Suei (580- 618) and T'ang, those creations of clay sculpture emerged in which equine existence was captured in a depth rarely found elsewhere. To depict this animal at rest and in the fire of movement, in the joy of its own self or in trembling expectation, in play, battle or display - this period, filled with equestrian and chivalric spirit, did not become tired depicting all this.

The founder of the T'ang dynasty went so far as to have the six heavy stallions he rode in his battles depicted in monumental reliefs on his tomb175. The memorial that Alexander the Great dedicated to Bucephalus and the epitaph that Hadrian had inscribed on his favorite Alanian horse176 as comparisons. The horse even penetrated the divine world

before. Mounted gods appear in depictions whose area of distribution stretches from Sarmatian South Russia to Sakish northwest India. From there, the equestrian god penetrated as far as China177.

The horse did not remain alone. Shortly after Chinese had adopted riding from the Huns, they were introduced to the camel by the same people178. It was at the same time that the dromedary was first encountered in Ptolemaic Egypt (see p. 160). The art of the nomads also 56

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camels, sometimes in pairs and in the form of objects179. Accordingly, like the horse, it quickly became an object of small sculpture among the Han180. Depictions of camel carvings 18\ also appear among the T'ang, as such are expressly attested from the land of the Tocharians182. The BaE r also appears for the first time in Han art183. Again, we are to the equestrian tribes as a starting point. Depictions of the bear are found on the Ordos bronzes to be mentioned immediately and on the rock paintings of the nomads184. Above all, the sacrifice of the BaE ren is one of the oldest185 and most widespread186 depictions of the Central and North Asian . It can be found from the mouth of the Amur to the Ugric tribes on the Yenisei and Ob187, from the Bering Strait to the Finns188.

The LoE we was originally unknown to the Chinese189. It never lived in their country. Having been known once before under the Indian name, it was adopted again under the Iranian name in the 1st century BC. It seems reasonable to assume that the Iranian equestrian nomads were also the starting point. In 87 B.C. envoys from the

Parthians and Tocharians to the imperial court, who brought LoE wen as gifts190. Soon the LoE we also conquered its place in art, whether in its actual form191 or as a component of the widespread hybrid creatures192.

The question of the origin of the new animal style goes one step further. North and Central Asian shamanism had already had an influence among the Chou: the depiction of the owl on the bronze vessels can be traced back to it193. The adoption of the pointed in the same direction; behind it, as behind the horse, camel and lion, were the equestrian peoples of Iranian or Turkic origin. This brings us to the great movement of nomads that began everywhere at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. From western Siberia, the Sarmatians (see p. 111 below) brought the animal style to Russia. It is found in the Minussinsk region and in the Altai, but also in Transbaikalia and western Mongolia194. Here, in the area extending north of the Great Wall to the region of Lake Baikal195 , bronze works have come to light that had a particular impact on China. The first makers of these

"Ordos bronzes" were the Hunnic , the same ones that had provided the model for China's new military system 196. There is also a chronological agreement insofar as the oldest datable pieces belong to the 2nd century BC197. This art has survived

until the end of the 1st millennium AD: Turks, Avars and other tribes followed the Huns198.

On the largest scale, the nomadic style is expressed in the openwork bronze plates decorated with relief, which served as belt buckles. The preferred motif

on them is the animal fight199. Fantastic ,

51,52,54 composed of wolf (or eagle) and dragon, fight each other or tear a horse, a hind. Tigers have hunted down a yak and are preparing to finish

him off. Griffin and , bear and reindeer and other associations also appear. In one case, an interpretation is . The elk attacked by the wolverine on a wool weaving mill from the hun- 55 dred tomb of Noin Ula200 in Outer Mongolia denotes the taking of land. The wolverine corresponds to a human that is led to a new land by the pursued game201. The other forms of animal combat also refer to hunting and persecution, which play an important role in the imagination of the equestrian peoples202. Occasionally, human duels or hunting scenes appear in place of the animal scenes, in which 53.57 horsemen armed with bows and long swords correspond to the animal predators and hunters203 ; ancient epic motifs may be the basis204. On a pressed tile from the Han period, LoE wen and 41 riders alternately follow each other in a flying gallop, both pursuing wild animals205. Human and animal are explicitly placed on an equal footing in this Chinese reinterpretation and interpretation. anticipation of the coming victory, a Hun could describe the slaughtered enemy as a ready meal - a ready meal, one might say - that a god had given him206. The predatory nature of the nomadic warrior207 found expression in this.

The dragon and griffin, and even more so their hybrids, lead into the mythical realm. The same applies to the ancient208 legend alluded to earlier: the pursuit of the elk by the wolverine. Confirmation is provided by the persecution legends in general, in which the animal

transformation forms a certain characteristic. The motif of the

The concept of "magical flight" is widespread throughout the shamanistic world and has its origins in it209. This refers us once again to the religious sphere, as we did (p. 66 f. above) when considering the origins of warfare. For war and persecution, war and hunting corresponded to each other here too. Disguised flight as a means of combat was not only to the Parthians, but to all Central Asian equestrian nomads210 . "They do not shy away from a

fleeing ," remarked the ShiKi of the Huns211. And just as for some the battle was a hunt, as they hunted the surrounded enemy to death like a game, as they threw themselves at the enemy in ecstatic excitement, entranced and possessed (see p. 43f. above), so did the others. The fighting styles of the Parthians in the west and the Huns in the east had shamanistic connotations.

This world now found its way into China as an artistic form. The Chinese craftsmen set about translating the models, the depictions of the guartel plates, into their own style. In the Han period, the Central Asian motifs were given a more refined, more thoroughly formed design212 through the addition of traditional elements of Chou art. In addition to the belt plates, the hook-shaped clasps made of bronze and jade were also introduced with the changed costume of the army213. Mixed images appear in relief or in openwork - dragons or griffins, often enriched by the

addition of a lion or eagle. In a series of belt clasps, one can observe how the elephant's head is gradually transformed into a

bird-like formations214. Or groups were depicted in which dragons, but also tigers and other predatory creatures were artfully entwined. The same ornamentation was used on other opposites that also borrowed from equestrian standards: swords215 , sceptres, daggers and sabres216 . The tips of the standards, as they appeared at the time, were also decorated with depictions in the same style2". The movement was not limited to adopted . It also made use of amulets or figurative clay , which, according to ancient custom, were given to the dead in the grave218. However, a transformation was slowly taking place everywhere. Not only were the depictions technically and artistically refined: the wild, passionate battle scenes also disappeared and what remained was the movement of supple animal bodies that together in artfully arranged groups. What had once been an expression of martial stance had been transformed into something more ornamental. In this denatured form, the animal style survived beyond the Han period.

4.

Thus, despite mass borrowing, China's art remained in terms of form and content. This leads to the question of how deeply the transformation described has affected the Middle Kingdom.

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By no means can we speak of a general alienation. Under the early Han, as the warfare system was modeled on the nomadic model, the renaissance of the Chinese spirit took place, which elevated Confucianism to the norm. There was also a regression of the ancestral feudal system in favor of a state civil service, which was primarily based on the

Confucian literati219. The Han era thus became the classical one in Chinese intellectual history. But even in the areas that primarily concern us here, China's attitude was quite , despite all the apparent alienation. The women of the nomads were just as much at home on horseback back then as they are today220. There must always have been analogies to today's equestrian games, in which women or girls take center stage221 . They even knew how to a weapon. When the Shan-juE of the Huns fought the last battle around his capital west of the Issyk-Kul, he gathered the women of the court around him in addition to his followers. They were also armed with bows and arrows and knew how to use them, according to the annals of the old Han222. Similarly in Iran. Ardeschir fled from the Parthian court on horseback with the king's maiden (p. 17 above). Humai, the legendary mother of the last Achaimenid, played polo

"The Shirin's entourage took part in the same game together with her queen. At the same time, however, they were " to the knight RuE stern in the art of the bow; in shooting, Sijawusch would not have been worthy of wearing her horse blanket". When it came to battle, "the slender cypress girls tied the coats around their "224.

In China, too, the secluded existence of women was hit by the wave that elevated horses and riding to hitherto unknown importance. Among the T'ang it happened that girls and women mounted animals: first the donkey225, then the horse. Terracottas from this period226 show female dancers and jugglers their arts on the backs of animals. Alongside male polo players, they show the graceful

Depictions of their , of which a contemporary poet sings: "Since the ladies of the court learned to play polo, they have been riding on horseback with slender . "227 The game had been adopted from Chotan, i.e. from the wider nomadic area228.

But this influence did not go any deeper. Only , long after the end of the Han, did the Chinese woman mount a horse. And we never hear that she tried hand at arms. The world of soldiers and that of women, of fine and sociable education in general, were still mutually exclusive. Like Chinese art, the Chinese woman, this bearer of all preservation and perseverance, knew how to preserve her own law. China also maintained its form in other respects when it adopted foreign things. In our period, its history took place in the north, in the valley of the Huang-ho229. The landscape here is more monotonous than that of the South, where the basic terrain is characterized by change, fog and water. In contrast to the lighter, more imaginative and more intelligent southerners, the northern Chinese heavier, but also more reliable. He is by a large and sturdy physique compared to the Southern Chinese; he fights for his life through , steadfastness and diligence. Farmer that he is, he faces a nature that is great in giving, but merciless in its whims230. All the security of his existence on his mastery of her. The effects that the weather and natural disasters have on life are terrible. They could only be countered by sticking together, a of community, sour and . The constant floods were also comparable to such a natural disaster.

The invasions of the cavalry and the devastation they . It was decided to it with the same tenacity; there was no shame in learning from the enemy himself. But the cavalry tactics learned from the nomads meant something different here and there from the outset. It had not grown on Chinese soil: it had been appropriated in its finished form by conscious decision. It was then developed in such a way that the barbarians were beaten with their own weapons. Inherited special forms such as war chariots231 continued to exist and were perfected. A distinction was now made between heavy and light chariots; it was known how to unite them into a chariot fortress232, similar to the way one knew how to form squares or hedgehog positions233. The crossbow was a weapon that the reflex bow. Fluent horsemen had previously sent out the slender, feathered arrow over long distances. The crossbow was used on foot. Their stout, short bolts were fired at close range, but with a moderate penetrating power. If the bow was a weapon of the pursuer and , the crossbow was a weapon of the hunter.

those of close combat and destruction. It became a symbol of the sedentary, rural or urban man, who was not a born warrior, but a disciplined soldier against the raiders who threatened the fields and settlements of his homeland.
We encountered the same attitude in Sasanian Iran. In the Empire of the 3rd century AD, it can be observed in a more pronounced form.

This outlines the picture of this century. Iran, China and Rome - they are all characterized by empire-building, by a state feeling of comparative strength and persistence. Highly acclaimed ancient cultures, having reached maturity and already entered their late form, surround themselves with forms that are solidifying and beginning to solidify. Everywhere they are surrounded by restlessly undulating areas that are in the process of becoming: the advanced civilizations that have become old are by a world of "barbarian" marginal peoples that is still shapeless but has a promising future. Their threatening power forces those under attack to think of new means of defense. They take them from their opponents, but they not only take them from them, they also on their own foundations. What is taken and what is one's own, new and old enter into a combination that we have described as medieval in a world-historical sense.
5.
The same direction of historical destiny caused the emergence of similar historical formations. Just as in the three old empires the defense against the equestrian and marginal peoples took up the best part of the forces, this defense took place under the same forms. It was not only Rome and Iran that sought to themselves against their unwelcome neighbors with a system of barriers: the Middle Kingdom resorted to the same means235. The westernmost part of the Chinese Limes is tangible for us, above all through the discoveries of Sven Hedin236 and Sir Aurel Stein - where it the Tarim Basin from Kansu. Here it followed the course of the trade route, which mainly, albeit though although not exclusively237 , for the export of silk to the west. Alongside the Parthians238 , the main customers were the

roE mish empire. But there was no direct connection between it and the Middle Kingdom. This and the distance, the obstacles that nature placed in the way, and the profits of intermediate trade239
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weighed on the prices. In Diocletian's highest price tariff, a pound (0.327 kg) of raw silk was valued at twelve thousand denarii (about 219 Reichsmark)240. Efforts were made by both sides to overcome the difficulties. In 97 AD Kan Jing undertook a journey to the west on official orders241. He was supposed to reach South Arabia or Roman Syria, but

when he reached the sea he was told of the dangers of the voyage in dark colors. Those who make the round trip, he heard, "can complete it in three months if the wind is favorable; but if the winds are adverse, the journey can take two years. That's why travelers take three years' worth of food with them when they embark. In addition, the high seas arouse the memory of the homeland and a longing for it; several have died from it . . ." Kan Jing renounced and returned242. At the same time, there is a message describing the venture in the opposite direction. Only this time it was not on official orders. It was a Babylonian2428 Greek who had it carried out. "The route from the Stone Tower to Sera," we read in the Geography of Ptolemy243, "became known through a trading company. Marinos says, in fact, a certain Maes with the surname Titianos recorded the survey of the route without having reached it himself, but rather on the basis of information given to him by his messengers to the Serians." The road, as far as it could be , went to the river dwellers.

following the Comedes up to the Pamir. Often just a path, but enough room for a loaded pack animal, it wound its way past the rocky walls that bordered the riverbed. Sometimes it sank down to it, with the water roaring behind it, sometimes it climbed vertiginously up vertical walls, leaving the white water deep beneath it. There were glaciers to cross, whose ice masses, pushed together, threatened to cut off the path completely for a distance.

At last the road began to descend to the western corner of the Alai valley. Here, at the foot of the pass, in the lonely surroundings of mountains rising to four and seven thousand meter peaks (Kungur Peaks 7664 m; Muz-thag-ata 7433 m), stood the "Stone Tower "245 . Two areas collided here: those who this place had left the Mediterranean and the Near East behind them and entered another world. On its descent, the path followed the course of a river, the Kizil-su. They reached Kashgar, the old Su- o, and thus the Tarim Basin. Two

Trade routes passed through this important transit area: both ran in a west-east direction, following the mountains that border the country to the north and south of the 30th parallel. In the last century before our era, there was still great uncertainty. A Chinese source reports: "If you travel along the northern road, you are to the attacks of the Huns. There is a lack of water and food on the South Road, and in many areas where no population has settled along the road, there is a great shortage. "246 Or: "The gates of the cities remained closed in broad daylight because of the . "247 The restless activity of the Chinese overlords created change .

They describe their measures in vivid detail. "The extent of the country, the mountains and , the kings and their governors, the number of inhabitants, the distances on the roads were precisely checked and recorded. "248 Hostels, relay stations and a courier service249 were set up; interpreters were appointed. "The foreigners, who devoted themselves to trade, knocked daily on the doors to them. "250 At the same time, Chinese

settlers took the uninhabited land under the plough. Farming colonies were established and by fortifications.
"From Han, the arable fields were increased and extended to the north", according to the reports251. Border fortifications were built, erected and constructed. There was also an outer wall with its own garrison, so that the newly conquered borderlands could come to rest252. The enemy now only succeeded in overrunning the and redoubts outside the fortifications. He did not get any further. Because
"the signal fires in the marches the borders burned clear and bright, and the observation posts were in excellent condition, so that the raids in the borderlands were of little use to the Huns and accordingly they rarely attacked the fortified borders "253.
The finds at Lou-lan, on the western shore of the salt lake and in the east of the Tarim Basin, lead right into the heart of the trade route. Further beyond ended the "Great Wall", the mighty border barrier which, from its construction by Shi huang-ti (259-210) to the mouth of the Jalu, sealed off the land of the Middle from the northern border peoples254. When, towards the end of the 1st century BCE, the Chinese asserted their rule over the
"Western countries", the first step was to establish the

leading trade route. "Rest houses were built in fixed intermediate areas, from Tun-huang westwards to Lop-nor," say the Yearbooks of Western Han255.
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In addition to several hundred farming colonies, forts were also built at intervals256. Lou-lan, located north of the Lop-nor on the northern road passing through here, formed the western "bridgehead of the entire complex. "257 A coherent limes, which shielded the trade route to the north against the Huns and their neighbors, probably dated back to the 1st century BC258. Its primary purpose was to secure Chinese trade with the western countries259. by the nature of the , small lakes and swamps, the line ran along the Su-lo-ho valley. It is still possible to distinguish the construction routes in which the line was driven westwards260. South Chara-nor, the older limes turned southwest and ended here; later it was continued about 40 km. From then on, apart from smaller fortified posts, the marshy salt steppe took over the protection261. The rampart itself, with its one-34 watchtowers262, forts and magazines263 has been preserved over long stretches264. A guard service was set up; signals and fires used to signal the approach of the enemy265. The garrison consisted of pardoned prisoners266 who had been exiled to the north-western border of the empire, or barbarian soldiers267. Lou-lan itself lay on the shores of the salt lake; it was created out of nothing, as it were. The surrounding area was deserted and the land bore sparse fruit268. The

Most of the food and all other necessities had to be brought in from inside China. What was was stored in warehouses: grain for food, the crew's

weapons supplies, felt cloth and furs to last through the winter. Columns of Mongolian camels, donkeys and horses from Tibet were as pack animals. All this was overseen by a staff of officials who, in the Chinese manner, entrusted almost everything to paper: the type and prices of the goods in transit, the arrival and departure of the mail, the material received and used. An account was demanded for every halter rope269. Among the goods270 , silk was, as already mentioned, in first place. It came from the interior of China and was specially woven into rolls of a certain for export. The price and origin were marked on them271. The surrounding country, whose supplies were paid for with this silk, the West, the merchants of India, were buyers. They brought with them the customs of their homeland, but above all its products. Wooden plaques with prakrit texts tell of the presence of the Indians, the producers of the silk.

Syrian workshops benefited from the barter trade with the Greco-Roman West. Glassware from Antiocheia found its way as far as Korea272 ; the ornamentation of the imported woollen fabrics was adopted and transformed by Chinese silk weavers273 . Conversely, attempts were made in Alexandreia and the of Phoinicia to imitate the rare and precious silks of the East274.

The trade route was not only of economic importance. The merchant paved the way the migration of the great world religions. We have already seen: here was the

Buddhism when it set out to conquer China and Mongolia, Korea and Japan. But the missionaries of Nestorian Christianity and, like them by the merciless persecutions the Sasanians, the preachers of Mani's doctrine also here. They all their mark on the Tarim Basin. Buddhist cave temples275, which the examinations of the Enlightened One in hundredfold repetition represent, appear to the Bema of the ManichaE er or the delicate miniatures with which the sect decorated its holy books276. With the construction of the limes and its fortified outposts, with the organization and protection of trade, the counterattack waged by the Middle Kingdom against the restless and ravenous nomads on its northern border had reached its . Not only had the secret of the enemy's fighting style been eavesdropped on: in the construction of the limes, the sedentary man had once again successfully brought his own to . With the of Chinese power, the outposts in the northwest were also lost. Around the middle of the 2nd century AD, the regular occupation and guarding of the of the limes ofTun-huang ceased277. The majority of the dated found in Lou-lan belong to the reign of Emperor Wu-ti (263-270), who further strengthened the empire's position of power in the Tarim Basin278. The last finds from Nija on the South Road, to the north-east of of Chotan279. With the endof the 3rd century, the settlement was abandoned, no doubt in connection with with the withdrawal of the Chinese troops280. They also withdrew from

Miran, further east281. Lou-lan and the position at Lop-uor were cleared at the beginning of the 4th century282. It was

Finally, the connection with the mother country was completely cut off283.
81

- THE GODS

1. .1

From the end of the 13th century BC onwards, the Indo-Germanic Illyrian people gained world-historical significance for the first time1. Their advance and successful expansion can be traced everywhere. The Illyrians stood behind the Dorians, who were the third and last of the Greek waves of immigration to South2. When the Phrygians into Asia Minor and put an end to the Hittite Empire there, Illyrian components came with them. The Troad became the seat of an Illyrian royal house^ and Illyrian name forms can be traced as far as Bithynia4. In Italy, the \eneti pushed the Faliscan-Latin ahead of them*. Together with the Oscicumbrian group, Illyrian hordes also came to the peninsula. They were the impetus for these migrations and at the same time their . In eastern Germany, Illyrians founded the Lusatian culture, which became dominant as far afield as Poland, Ukraine and western Hungary.

However, as the Illyrians penetrated the Danube and Apennine Peninsula and gained a dominant position in the German east, they turned from aggressors into those who were attacked. At the turn of the 7th and 6th centuries, the Lusatian culture collapsed. It succumbed to Germanic , once comrades of the Illyrians, who had become opponents from the north. Together with the Germanic tribes, Scythian hordes overran the castles in which the

Lusatians tried to hold on. The three-edged arrowheads made of bronze, which are characteristic of the Scythians, were found in the Hallstatt hillfort on the Breiten Berge near Striegau and in that of Niemitsch (district of Guben)7. From Vettersfelde, in the immediate vicinity of Niemitsch, comes the famous Scythian gold treasure of the
6th century, and other finds8 are added as confirmation. Scythian tribes also flooded the Danube regions. Their arrowheads made of bronze and bone can be found as far as the SiebenbuE rgische Bergland9. For the first time, Germanic tribes and equestrian peoples had made history together. Four centuries later, the process was to be repeated. At that time, the Scythian power in South Russia collapsed. On its eastern border, another steppe people of Iranian origin awaited the coming
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things: the Sauromatians. Their borders lay between the lower reaches of the Danube and the Volga, north of the Caucasus10. At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the people advanced westwards; they were now referred

to as Sarmatians with a slightly different name11. A Sarmatian dynasty appears in the treaty that Eumenes of Pergamon concluded with Pharnakes, the first Pontic king of the name, in 179 B.C. 12. The Sarmatians spread throughout South Russia and put an end to Scythian rule there; only in the Crimea and Dobruja did remnants of it survive13. In the Protogenes inscription14 , which probably dates to 184 BC15 , we still encounter Scythians between the Bug (Hypanis) and the Dniester (Thyras); two Sarmatian tribes already appear next to them16. We are in the midst of the that led to the expulsion of one people by the other.

others. The Sarmatian advance formed part of the great movement of the Iranian cavalry . It followed the advance of the Saka and Tocharians not only in time, but also geographically17. The Aorsians are mentioned among the Sarmatian tribes18. They lived as a neighboring people of the Siraks19 on the Don. There were also "upper" Aorsians20 , apparently the tribal people, on the northern edge of the Caspian Sea and on the lower Jaxartes. Like Scythians and Sarmatians21 , they were of Iranian origin, as evidenced by their name22. Chinese reports know them under the name Jen-tsai or An-tsai as inhabitants of Chorasmia23. The movement of the Sarmatians is thus seamlessly connected to the point of entry of their neighbors.

The finds of the Sarmatian tombs24 confirm the picture of a movement whose connections reach far to the east. The kurgans of the Kuban region and the Volga graves contain Chinese mirrors of the Han and imitations of such25. There are also two-wheeled carts made of clay, which resemble the nomadic carts of Central Asia and are also found in terracotta from the Han period26. jadeite sword carrying cases that came to light on the Volga are consistent with Chinese and Korean ones from the same period27. The ownership marks (tamga) are the same on the Sarmatian guilds and daggers and on the rock paintings on the Yenisei28. It appears for the first time in Sarmatian graves28a, but is also found in 2nd-1st century India and in Han China29. The stirrup had a revolutionary effect on warfare as a whole; its introduction was a prerequisite for the battle-decisive importance of the cavalry weapon30. 86

At the same time as this new wave of Iranian equestrian nomads, a Germanic tribe, the Bastarns, appeared in South Russia. For the second time, members of both came together and united in common action. The seats of the Bastarns were located on the northern and eastern of the Carpathians and Beskids31. Around 230 BC, the tribe was already on the move32, and at the beginning of the 2nd century it is encountered on the Pontus33. In the Protogenes inscription, the Bastarns appear together with the likewise Germanic Skiren as the terror that threatened Olbia and the Crimea from the west34. Again (see p 86 above), this leads right the middle of the reinterpretations. The archaE ological legacy of the Bastarns and the East Germanic peoples in general, their "stone tomb" or "face urn" culture, allows this first Germanic migration to the Southeast to be established35. The finds can be traced far into the Ukraine353.

TheBastarnians also appeared on the lower Danube. Philip V of Macedon tried to persuade them to attack Italy in 184 BC. Two years later, he tried to the Germanic tribes after the Illyrian Dardans, the Macedonian empire's neighbors. Once they had established themselves in their territory, they were to launch invasions from there into the Apennine peninsula37. In 179, the Bastarnian advance against the Dardans did indeed take place, by Thracian and Scordiscian troops38. After initial successes, it collapsed. A plea for help from the distressed Dardans to the Roman senate had no effect39. However, they managed to free themselves from the invaders; most of the troops died on the ice of the Danube40. . Once again the Bastarns entered the south bank of the

Danube. In 168 BC, their king Clondicus asked Perseus of Macedonia to him in his fight against the Romans. Perseus turned down this offer out of avarice. The Bastarnian troops returned across the Danube in plunder.
2.
The Bastarns were not only the first Germanic tribes in SuE drußland: they also anticipated key events in the history of their descendants, above all the Goths42. Both the Bastarns and the Goths advanced into the same lands on the Black Sea. They also had the push against the lower Danube and the invasion of the south bank in common. Perhaps
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The parallel could have been drawn even further "if that far-sighted plan of Philip V., The Bastarnian campaign to Italy would then have been prompted by similar motives and may have had similar consequences to the later campaign of the Ostrogoth Theodoric, with which the clever policy of the Byzantine Zeno rid of two dangerous opponents in one fell swoop "43.
Clondicus' offer to King Perseus was to enter Macedonian service with ten thousand horsemen and as many "parabates "44. The mention of these parabates shows that the Bastarnians adhered to the inherited Germanic fighting style until 168 BC. They practiced mixed combat: horsemen fought together with lightly armed men on foot. The foot soldiers ran alongside the horses, holding on to their maEers and leaning on their croup if necessary.

sat on. In the imperial period, the image had changed. As the reliefs of the 95.66f. TrajanssaE ule and the Tropaeum of Adamclisi45 show, they still wore the Germanic topknot and Germanic costume; their language and way of life had also been retained. But by mixing their blood, their nature had been assimilated to that of their Sarmatian neighbors46. From them they had also adopted the long, tight-fitting trousers, which then quickly became native to the other Germanic tribes66f. And again the depictions of Adamclisi, together with the Bastarns, show representatives of a Sarmatian tribe, armed with a crowned weapon reminiscent of the falces of the Dacians and Scythians47.

The Skirs further east were also subject to these influences48. The area north of the Black Sea and west of the Dnieper once to the Thracian empire of Burebista49. Thracian and Dacian names have been preserved50. The finds from the Germanic there from the years after the turn of the millennium show the penetration of the Germanic culture by the Dacian culture; they also show that the Goths were influenced in the same way later on51.

In the case of the Bastarns, this penetration manifested itself in a descent from their original height52. Even among their immediate successors, a historically far more fruitful and more consequential equalization of cultures.

The train of the Cimbri can be seen as a prelude to the great migration of peoples,

has been common for a long time. Both the transition across the Rhine and Danube and the penetration into Gaul, Spain and Italy are consistent. On the other hand, the original direction of the Cimbrian

migration was largely similar to that of the Bastarns. It also took place on the eastern edge of the Germanic area. The Cimbri did not try to penetrate BoE hmen via the Elbe: their invasion took place from Silesia, presumably via the Glatzer PaE sse, which mediated traffic between the Oden lowlands and BoE hmen at the time53. When the attack failed due to resistance from the Celtic Boii, the advance continued to the south-east, towards the Danube. Others followed them along the route opened up by the Bastarns and Cimbri. In several pushes, the Vandals54 advanced into Silesia, Poland and western Russia54a; later they were to establish themselves in Upper Hungary and in the Tisza plain, in the vicinity of the equestrian tribes there. However, as noted, the Cimbri did not stay in Silesia either. At one point, their march almost crossed paths with that of the Bastarns. When the Cimbri advanced into the land of the Scordiscans, they established themselves immediately west of the point where the Bastarnian advance of 179 BC had tried to break through. The Cimbri also came into with eastern influences. The iron breastplates of the Cimbrian cavalry caught the eye of the Romans at the decisive battle of VercellaE55 . This armor stood out as much from the ancient ones (which preferred bronze56) as it matched that of the Scythians and Sarmatians57. The Iranian iron armor probably came to the Cimbri through East Celtic mediation. Its designation as a bruE nne goes to a Celtic word , which was adopted in of the Scythian period58. It originally meant "breast" (cf. Old Irish bruinne) and has undergone the same development as the Greek thorax, which Plutarch uses the Cimbrian armor. This word also originally meant the "breast" before it became the term

of the "breastplate "59. In general, the Cimbri with their long shields and spears, their helmets decorated with animal images60 resembled the horsemen of the eastern Celts who appear on the silver cauldron of Gundestrup61. This cauldron itself bears witness to the strength of the that

these Germanic tribes in the Southeast. It was made towards the end of the 2nd century in Balkan Celtic territory, probably in that of the Skordisker62 . From there it came to the homeland of the Cimbri, either as booty or as trade goods, and was quickly imitated there. What the Skordisker had initiated, the North Germanic tribes to
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End. They merged Celtic forms with Eastern ones that originated in Pontus63 and also in southern Russia64.
The indigenous pieces of the Gundestrup cauldron type found in Himmerland and on FuE nen65 mark a turning point in the history of Germanic art. Just as the simultaneous of the runic futhark by the Cimbri66 marked the first transition from the older symbolic signs to phonetic writing in the ancient style, so this piece marked the first confrontation with ancient forms. It was the anticipation of a development, which was to begin much more strongly with the migration of peoples. The Gundestrup cauldron stands at the beginning of the Middle Ages, whose figurative relief art appears to be prefigured in its style and content. The only difference is that "the course of history with the conquest of the north halted the course of this ",
"until the events of the migration of peoples created a clear path for it again "67.

The Celts unable to wrest it from them. However, the Boii there soon gave way under new Germanic pressure. The Marcomanni and Quads gained a foothold in the Bohemian-Moorish basin, the Hermunduri68 further west to the Thuringian Forest69 . Marbod's empire weighed on Rome like a nightmare for a while, only to collapse. Like the Bastarns and Cimbri, the Roman power stood in the way of further advances. It had advanced all the way to the Danube border; stronger and more consolidated than ever before, it was preparing to erect a bulwark there for centuries to come.
Of necessity, the Germanic advance came to a halt. They remained in the neighborhood of Rome for over a century and a half, between warlike conflicts and peaceful penetration. The Quads had advanced their seats furthest to the south-east: they reached as far as the plain between the foothills of the Slovakian Carpathians and the Danube 70. Where the river turns southwards, the great Hungarian plain begins, the small and large AlfoE ld meet. This is where the outposts of the Germanic Southeast Stream met up again with the equestrian peoples. As a historical area71 , today's Hungary is defined by opposites. On the left bank of the Danube stretches the
"large field". Its wheat fields both fill and limit the view. In between, sparse , their low reed roofs duck into the ground so as not to the imposing nature of this expanse and fertile land. Or the
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Puszta with its herds of horses and cattle; here the mounted shepherd, or at best the gypsy, is master of the land. The Tisza flows through the countryside between flat banks.

With its meanders and marshy banks72 it is reminiscent of the Irtysh and Ob, the rivers of northwestern Siberia73 from which Magyar people once set out. The south bank of the Danube is different: unlike the Tisza, this river is a brother of the Rhine; it is, not Asian. On its banks, mountain ranges rise to great , and ancient Pannonia unfolds in constant ups and downs, alternating between hills, valleys and lake , picturesque villages and castles. The landscape is characterized not by pastures or cornfields, but by vineyards and orchards. Extensive farming has been replaced by intensive farming, and instead of "desolate fertility" there is artful cultivation and care. AlfoE ld and pushta were harbingers of the black earth of Russia and the Asian steppe, in their and in the rapid change of climate at the equinox. Conversely, the aromatic scent of the land and its products, the diversity of its formations, the halcyon splendor that seems to rest over everything, make the Pannonian region appear as a harbinger of Italy.

After that, the roles of the two areas were distributed over the course of history. If the nature of Pannonia already pointed to Italy, it was no coincidence that the Romans took the land for themselves. Dionysus, worshipped in Pannonia since ancient times74 , remained in depictions until the Middle Ages. In general, ancient motifs reappeared again and again in the Romanesque and Gothic periods of Transdanubia76. Even what has been described as the form of Hungarian art77: the sense of the round and full, the joy of moderate and beautiful - painting, relief and folk art - is largely a heritage, transmitted through Pannonia. The feeling for the physical and sensual, which was characteristic of ancient art, has been

preserved in it. In contrast, the Roman advance at the lands north and east of the Danube. As with the free Germanic peasantry or the feudal state of the Parthians, it encountered a different kind of world here78. Conversely, the nomadic , however many of them entered Hungarian territory over the centuries, never really became at home in Pannonia. In the wide open spaces of the AlfoE ld and the Tisza Plain, they romped their horses, grazed their herds and set up their changing camps. Scythian and Sarmatian , Huns and Avars lived here until the conquest of the Magyars.

left their traces. Only in the flat lowlands east of Lake Balaton79 are there traces larger settlements of the Avars. It was a momentous innovation that Arpad forced his people to gain a foothold in the Transdanubian land80. What came afterwards, the Pechenegs and RumaEns, settled again in the lowlands between the Tisza and Danube80'. With the occupation of the smaller AlfoE ld, the Marcomanni and Quads had advanced into the area of the equestrian peoples. In the centuries before the turn of the century, Scythian hordes had nomadized in the Hungarian lowlands81; then, as in southern Russia, Sarmatians had emerged as their successors. Their most

important tribe were the Jazygians82. They had separated from the closely related Roxolans and settled in the Tisza plain towards the end of Tiberius' reign83. According to explicit testimony84 , they reached as far west as Carnuntum.

In everything, the Yazygs were the equal of their SuE drussian mother people: in weaponry and arts and crafts85, in the

way of life and in the appreciation of the horse. Although Roman forms penetrated86, man remained faithful to the original. The tomb of BorsahaE lom87 contained the body of the deceased in a chamber made of tree trunks, covered with gold plates in the Scythian-Sarmatian manner. Around him lay his jewelry, encrusted with colored stones, his weapons and the slaves offered as a funeral sacrifice. The grave of this nomadic ruler, who was buried here with his guards, his followers and his horses, is in no way different from one of the kurgans on the Dnieper and Don.

Slowly, the Germanic tribes were captured by the forms that were peculiar to the Iranian equestrian tribes. In Marbod's army, the horsemen did not yet make up one twentieth of the whole; as a result, they were content with a troop of Sarmatians and Jazygians88. But it was they who brought the new. In the second century, a squadron of contarii*9 the Quads in the fort of Arrabona (Raab). The troop was named after the long lance with it armed: the contus. It was not used for throwing, but for thrusting90. This "thrusting "91 of the lance at full gallop was taught right up to the equestrian regulations of recent times. The contus was the main weapon of the Alanian and Sarmatian cavalry92. If the Romans made use of the foreign weapon in this case, it because the opposing Quades had meanwhile adopted the equestrian lance from their Jazygian neighbors93. As can be seen from the lower

92

Danube had deployed a division of cataphracts against the heavily armored horsemen of the Roxolans94, Arrabona had also adopted the tactics of the

adapted to the enemy. The adoption of the contus by the Quads was only a first step. It was followed by the armor made of plaited horn scales95 , the spread of which among the Eurasian equestrian peoples can be traced as far as . From the 3rd century AD onwards, the use of the bow can be found in square grave finds97. The single-edged Germanic scramasax and a short thrusting sword in the Roman pattern also appear98. Daggers are also attested: the Quads used them to conjure up their . This points to a religious significance of the weapon, and it is remembered that the Alans worshipped the god of war in the upright sword99. From the neighboring equestrian tribes, the Quads also adopted the agile way of , which sometimes allowed the mounted warriors to advance, sometimes to retreat in disguised flight100. This is why it was judged that they were more suited to robbery and ambush than to open combat101. The nomadic way of fighting had taken hold these Germanic tribes: in the 4th century there was no longer any difference between them and the Sarmatians102.

The dragon flag of Central Asian origin was also received from the equestrian nomads. It appears among the Quads as early as the 2nd century103. They adopted the consumption of horse and fox meat from their neighbors104, as well as the custom of castrating the fighting stallions105 (allegedly so that their neighing would not become a traitor during attacks and ambushes). This too - equus Hunnicus was the name of the gelding in the Middle Ages - had its origins in the East106. The Quads finally adopted the servile way of themselves before the victor, the lack of which distinguished the Germanic tribes of Trajan's time so favorably from the Dacians and their allies. ..

107 All these borrowings would have been inconceivable without closest neighborhood and political ties. A new unification of the two stroE me, the Germanic and the Eastern Iranian, was the offing. TruE geric calm the coming storm. In the course of the 2nd century, the border seemed to grow into a clientele relationship with the Roman Empire. Antoninus Pius appointed a king of his own choosing to the Quads108. Then came the turning point. Under the emperor Marcus, all the states from the Illyrian Limes to to to Gaul109. In Ballomar, the Marcomannic king, a new Marbod seemed to have arisen93

be. He united the aitansaEsian Hermunduri, Marcomanni and Quads. They were joined by whose names had not yet been heard on the Danube: Lombards, then Charians, Viktuals, Asdings, all of whom belonged to the Vandals, and Lakringians, who were closely related to them. The Rider-VoE peoples were also present, and they too had received an influx. Alongside Jazygen and Roxolans, who populated the great plains to the west and south of the Dacian provinces110 , new names came forward: Kostoboken ni, Boers and a people that will be encountered in another context, the Alans. What had happened? "Other ", say our sources, "came to the imperial border fleeing from victors living in the north, threatening war if they were not taken in "112. This is the first time that the migration of the Goths cast its shadow over the fortunes of the Roman Empire113.

The Goths were located in southern Sweden before the change of time. The island of Gotland, then VaE ster- and OI stergoE tland have the name, have also preserved archaE olo89 gic traces114. The rock inscription from Himmelstalund115, the

Runes on the buckle of Vi116 confirm that even after the emigration, significant parts of the people remained in their homeland. Like the men of Hengist and Horsa117 who sailed to Britain, the Goths are also said to have entrusted their fate to three ships118. They reached the Baltic shore by sea. West Prussia formed the center of their new territory; the area around the mouth of the Vistula was named after them as the "Gothic " (Gothiscandza)119.

Numerous Germanic , some dating to the time before the first phonetic shift, show that the Finns had been in contact with the Germanic tribes

since early times120. It became even closer when the Goths advanced eastwards beyond the Passarge at the beginning of the 2nd century AD. In Samland and Natangen, Gothic burial grounds now appeared alongside those of the Aestii121. These gave their name to the West Finnic tribe122 , which has retained it to this day. Thus the Goths became neighbors of the Finns, who lived on the east bank of the lower Vistula123; they are actually named as such124. For the first time, the Germanic tribe entered the realm of a nomadic culture. Iranian influences were already noticeable here. Again, feudal words, this time from the Uriran period125, show that these influences were

94

i

went up high. The depiction of a racing animal nomad on a sigillata tablet from Rheinzabern shows him in Iranian costume, with the bashlyk126 . However, this first encounter does not seem to have had a profound impact on the lives of the Goths. The archaE ological legacy is the same on the Vistula as in Sweden127. The new land also largely resembled the homeland: 85 a gently undulating hilly country, small lakes, mixed forest and slight

bushes, all pervaded by the smell of harvest herbs. Only the brightness of the north, which makes the lights appear brighter, the shadows more colorful and in its transparent clarity is reminiscent of the days of late autumn, they no longer . They were about to swap the land of bright nights for the boundless plains of the East, the far-sightedness for the .

The Goths set off again from the mouth of the Vistula. Once again they headed south-east: their destination was the countries on the Black Sea. It was during this period that the effects of the Marcomannic War became apparent128. Other , which, like the Goths, came from the Scandinavian peninsula, ahead of them: the Burgundians towards the southwest, the Vandals from Silesia towards Danube. Everything was on the move. The Semnones, who emigrated to southern Germany, the Chauchen, who pushed across the Lower Rhine, were just as driven as the equestrian peoples, the Lombards and those ethnic splinters who emerged for the first time on the Danube alongside the already established Germanic tribes.

A Gothic legend129 tells of this migration. According to it, Filimer, son of Gadarig, was the . He through a marshy area and after crossing a river into the fertile landscape of Oium. As the bridge over the river collapsed, the story goes, half of the crew had to behind. The others invaded the territory of the Spalians and established themselves on the coast of the Maeotis.

The marshland was the PripetsuE mpfe. This is shown by the discovery of the spearhead 65 from Kowel with its Gothic runic inscription. Then were the "floodplains" Oium (Goth.

*aujom)no the suE drussian plain131. There sat the

The Ostrogoths, in contrast to the Visigoths or Terwings, the "forest dwellers", as Greutungen

were referred to as "field dwellers "132. The "Auen" and the field meant here refer to the same area. The Palatines were located between the Dnieper and the Don133. So the river that the emigrants crossed was the Dnieper134. The Germanic immigration is also evident from the soil finds135.
95

In north-western Ukraine, there are extensive burial grounds of the Romashki type on both sides of the Dnieper. As with the Gothic burials136 , cremation and skeletal burials are mixed here. The small finds also show forms whose origins cannot mistaken: brooches with wrapped feet, buckles, bone , iron knives137. The same monumental group is widespread throughout western Ukraine and eastern Hungary138 and as far as the Greek area on the northern shore of the Black Sea. It characterizes the spread of the Goths and Vandals who invaded from the northwest.
A denarius of the younger Faustina139 was found in Chernyakhov near Kiev, which provides a chronological reference point. The same applies to the aforementioned spearhead from Kovel: it can be dated to the late 2nd century140. As its ornamentation shows the influence of Bosporan forms141 , it can be assumed that parts of the Goths were already further at that time142. Two Middle Indian inscriptions found in a Buddhist hollow temple near Junnar in the Poona district143 are consistent with this chronological approach. Both date from the middle of the 2nd century144. Here the Yavana Irila and Cita "of the Gata" are described as

called consecrators. Yavana "Greek" was also used to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of Greek poleis in the Indian northwest, and then generally to the peoples of the neighboring western countries145. The Goths were recognized in Gata, and Erila in Irila. Cita can be equated with Ostrogothic Tzitta and Old English Tidda. The presence of the two Goths in India can best be explained if the people already in South Russia at that time, or at least on their way there.
Even the long distance, which at first glance seems difficult, is reduced when one considers the political and tribal relationships under such conditions. Since the Tocharians had subjugated Bactria, their territory extended from the steppes north of the Oxus to the border of India. Their successors, the Kushans, advanced over the Dorah Pass to the Indian side, to Chitral, around the middle of the 1st century BC146. Under Kanishka147 (78-103), the Kushan empire extended over the whole of northwest India, south to the Vindhya Mountains148 , i.e. as far as the neighborhood of Junnar, the place where the Wei inscriptions were found. Kanishka converted himself and his people to Buddhism; the monuments of this religion149 extend from Gandhara across the upper Swat valley150 to the ruins of
96

The Kushans traveled to the most important places in present-day Afghanistan: to Hadda151, Bamijan "2, Balch and the sanctuaries on the south bank of the Oxus154. This is followed by the Soghders, where the foundations of the Buddhist mission had already been laid under the Kushans155.

The closed territory of the Kushans stretched from the Central Asian steppe to the Deccan. Pilgrims who visited a Buddhist^shrine could visit here on

security and protection. To the northwest was a second, no less uniform area: that of the Alans. It stretched east to the Aral Sea and west to the Don. According to Strabon, the caravan trade that passed through here already supplied the Aorsians, the of the Alans157 , with gold. The fact that their trade reached as far as the Ganges was still known in late antiquity. The "northern" trade route159 (in contrast to the Silk Road, which ran further south) led from India to southern Russia, down the Oxus and across the Caspian Sea160. From India161 the Alans received the Almandme, with which they and later their Gothic neighbors the surfaces of their golden jewelry.

Once again, Germanic tribes and an equestrian people of Iranian descent met southern Europe. The Alans were the strongest and leading tribe of the Sarmatians162 ; today's Ossetians in the Caucasus are their descendants1628 The name of Iran and that of the Alans mean the same thing: that they are 'AI xians' (old Pers. aryaE naE m)163. At the same time as the Goths were advancing from the north-west into the Southeast Sarmatian region, the Alans had set out from the east to subjugate the remaining Sarmatian states. Both conquering peoples entered into close relations; together they absorbed the Roxolans, Rome's neighbors on the Danube front, in the 3rd century164.

The Alans advanced even further. Shortly after the middle of the

They themselves appeared on the Danube in the 2nd century165. Presumably these splinters had already been by the Goths, who advanced as far as the Maeotis166. Some of these Germanic tribes must already migrated westwards with the Alans. In 173, the future emperor Maximin was born in a village in Lower Moesia, on the

SuE dufer der Donau, born the son of a Goth and an Alanm167.

If the Alans themselves were Iranian, the Greek on the northern shore of the Black Sea and with them the Bosporan kingdom were strongly Iranian.

sized168. The Sarmatian neighbors already had an impact here. Sarmatian costumes and weapons penetrated the cities169. The kings bore Sarmatian names; they had themselves depicted on horseback in the Iranian manner, worshipping the supreme god170. There were also relations with the Alans: the Bosporan rulers had their own interpreters for Sarmatian and Alanian171. Now Gothic pressure was added: everything became dependent172. Only Kerch survived until the Justinian period173. Tyras,

on the other hand, soon fell174, and after the middle of the 3rd century Olbia was conquered by the Goths and its blood destroyed175.
Here too, not only in contact with the Alans, the Goths came under the spell of Iranian culture. A penetration began and had profound effects. The Iranian and Iranianized neighbors imparted decisive traits of their historical nature to the Goths.
4.
72-73 The royal costume of the Ostrogoths has been handed down from the time of Theodahad and his successors in a series of memorials176. Its main parts were a cloak with a chiton worn underneath and the characteristic cap or crown177. All the pieces are as different as possible from the spaE troEmish imperial regalia178.

The chiton has a final border at the neckline that meets a vertical central border. This alone distinguishes it from contemporaneous Roman , where the vertical borders run on both sides, right and left, not in the middle179. In contrast, the 74-78 central border appears in the Parthian180, Sasanian181 and the closely related Palmyrene182 costume. Because of their proximity to the Goths, bone plaques from Olbia183 must be mentioned in particular. They depict a Parthian king with his court. Here, too, the chiton is distinguished by a central border, occasionally by a vertical seam184 running in the same place: it was evidently covered by the border in the other cases. Donor portraits from Kucha in East Turkestan185 still show this chiton, the spread of which, it seems, coincided with that of the Iranian people.
The coat points in the same direction. It covers the shoulders but leaves the chest bare. The sleeves of the Theodahad show that it was decorated with sleeves186. The shoulder seam is with a beaded border. On the
98
On the right shoulder - only it is fully visible - there is an equally beaded at the lower end, which marks the base of the sleeves. Similar borders and transverse shoulder pieces are known from the donor figurines from Kumtura in East Turkestan187 or from the small terracottas from Afrasijab188 , which from the pre-Islamic period of Bochara189 . Here is also
76 the cut of the cloak is the same as on the Ostrogothic . All this points to Iranian origins from the outset. The beaded borders also adorn the

sasanid royal regalia190. The sleeve cloak, which the chest bare, is nothing other than the Persian kandys191. Fastened to the shoulder with a clasp192 , it flutters in the wind when there is violent movement, as can be seen on Alexander's sarcophagus. The kandys had to be worn in the presence of the ruler183. For the nobles and the king himself it was dyed purple194. The cloak that was put on the Ostrogothic at their elevation was also a purple robe195.
Like the chiton, the kandys can also be found in South Russia. It was usually made of skins and was then called a sisyrna196. In the depictions it appears as a characteristic component of the Scythian costume197, and

then of the northern peoples in general198. In most cases, this coat was . Similar to the Ostrogothic royal regalia, it left the chest bare199; the borders are visible on the edges and the seam on the shoulder as well as the transverse shoulder piece200. Both were also characteristic of the Parthian royal regalia201. The depiction of the seated king on one of the leg plates from Olbia202 confirms this : the border also there, only the shoulder piece cannot be recognized on this sleeve coat. The headgear remains. On the sleeves it resembles a hemispherical

73 shaped cap. A horizontal band decorated with gemstones forms the lower end; similar bands run from front to back and from ear to ear to meet at a right angle at the top of the cap. This point is marked by a spherical, particularly large gemstone.

Attempts have been made to interpret the crown that appears on the as a helmet203. The Parthian kings wore such a helmet, which had an elevated hemispherical shape, on their

MuE nzen204. Cheek flaps or a neck shield leave no doubt about the interpretation. The rows of spherical nail , which run from front to back and sideways from ear to ear at the rivet points, correspond to the borders of the Ostrogothic royal crown. Depictions of

99

Spangenhelinen205 and surviving pieces206 show four clasps, the arrangement of which corresponds to the intersecting borders of the crown. There also evidence of the sphere on the crown207.

However, our literary reports testify that the Ostrogothic crown was not a helmet. It is referred to as pilos208 or kamelaukion209 : it was probably a cap made of felt or woolen fabric. Its decoration consisted of precious stones and phalerae that hung down. The pilos could also be worn with the back210. This corresponds to the fact that the crown appears on the instead of the helmet with the chlamys, i.e. again with the armor211. This eliminates the of interpreting the crown as a helmet. The pilos was widespread. For example, among the Dacians and related tribes it was the costume of the nobility, from which the priests and kings were taken212. There were links between the Dacian and Gothic cultures213. Gothic priests also wore the pilos and were therefore referred to as pilleati214. However, it is unlikely that the royal pilos was adopted long after the fall of the Dacian kingdom. Moreover, the other components of the Ostrogothic royal costume clearly refer to Iranian models. The Persians also wore the pilos215. It was equated with the kyrbasia and the kidaris, but also with the tiara216. The kidaris appears on the of the Achaimenids and Tigranes of Armenia (97-56) as a

royal headdress217 ; the tiara also served as such. Should the equation of kidaris and tiara with the pilos imply that this could also be a royal insignia?

- An Iranian appears on a graffito from Dura, an Arsacid rather than a Sasanid218 . He sits on the throne in full regalia. In addition to the chiton

with a central stripe and sleeves, he a crown the shape of an elevated hemisphere. It is neither a helmet, as it lacks cheek flaps and a neck guard, nor a tiara - at least not the usual one with horizontal stripes219. But tiara and pilos, we saw, were largely similar220. And this crown has in common with the Ostrogothic pilos the hemispherical shape and the cross-shaped arrangement of the . The trimming with the precious stones and pearls is missing, but it may have been added later or omitted due to the negligence of the draughtsman.

The Sasanide wears a hemispherical cap like the Ostrogothic pilos

- Shapur, the elder brother of Ardeshir I, on a graffito in Persepolis221. The pilos also formed the basic component of the Sasanian royal crowns.

100

The later Kushans of Sasanian descent also wore crowns of the same shape222. This component remained here and there, however much ornamentation was added by the individual rulers. The pilos with the crosswise arranged borders on the top and the final lower border appears in Palmyra223 and on a Sasanian-Aegyptian fabric made of An- 80 tinoe224. It is the badge of the ruler depicted there. The coloring of the pilos (red for the cap, yellow or gold for the borders) shows that it is by no means a

helmet, but a cloth cap with golden brodes. Finally, the stars that the gussets of the Ostrogothic pilos are also found on the tiaras of Iranian rulers225. Due to the proximity to the Goths, it should be noted that these stars recur on the Bosporan royal costume226.

The Parthian sub-kings in Edessa, Persis and Elymais also wear pilos or tiaras, decorated with cross-shaped beaded borders, stars and crescent moons. The prayers of Subcharakian origin complete the picture2268.

A final confirmation is provided by the regalia of the Ostrogothic queen as worn Amalasuntha in the Orestes diptych of 530. Her "Phrygian" 72 cap resembles exactly the headdress, which characterizes the Bosporan queens227.

The question as to how old the Ostrogothic royal costume is and from where it was .

Theoderic does not wear the Ostrogothic regalia on the coins. Whether the fur cap on the gold medallion from Senigallia can be equated with the pilos227a remains uncertain; the attested gemstone decoration is missing227b. If the pilos appears for the first time on the Orestes diptych of 530, it was, like the replacement of the imperial couple by the Germanic kings, the result of the national demands made by the Gothic party against the Roman-friendly government of Amalasuntha228. This makes it all the more unlikely that the Ostrogothic royal costume was a recent invention. Rather, there seems to every indication that they reverted an old institution that had reappeared during Theodoric's reign, certainly in connection with his pro-Roman and pro-emperor policies. That this was the case remains to be seen.

We also know of the Visigothic royal costume. If one disregards the depiction of the last Visigoth king in the Umayyad pleasure palace of 81
101

Kusejr Ainra22', which is of a later date and poorly recorded, only a sapphire with the portrait of Alaric I or II comes into question'23" As in the Orestes diptych, the pilos is missing, but the chiton with a vertical central stripe and the cloak with borders and open over the chest can be recognized. As far as the costume is depicted, it therefore coincides with the Ostrogothic one.

This leads to the conclusion that Ostrogoths and Visigoths adopted their royal costume together. This must have happened at a time when both were still united, or at least still in close proximity. In other words, in South Russia and before the invasion of the Huns. And the adoption of Iranian forms was only in the Sarmatian-Alanian or Bosporan areas.

Perhaps the introduction of the Iranian royal regalia should be placed under Ermanaric"" Despite this deed, the of the Gothic empire has left behind a less than favorable image. This is particularly evident in the legend. It is reasonable to assume that the reign of his empire demanded a harder, more despotic demeanor than the Goths used to from their kings. The adoption of the Iranian regalia could have linked to these despotic and ostentatious232 forms of rule. The internal and external forms would have corresponded.

The answer as to who was the donor remains more difficult. In principle, both the two equestrian peoples and the bosporan kingdom come into question At the

current state of knowledge, there is much to be said for the latter, above all the similarity in the headgear of the female kings. On the other hand, the Goths lack the main characteristic of the nomadic

"The basic point is clear. In the royal costume of the Goths, we can see for the first time how strongly Iranian influences and forms permeated it.

5.

The great landowners of the Bosporan empire had the walls of their tombs inscribed with descriptions their lives234. The rich landlord spends the summer on his estates in a nomadic tent. His wife, child and servants are gathered next to the tent: he rides them, followed by the servant, who is also on horseback. The latter has a spare horse with him: there are long distances to . Master and servant are armed, because the 102

Land and the who cultivate it must be protected against the encroachments of predatory neighbors. In another picture235 the landowner appears in battle. Armed with scale armour, a conical helmet and a long horseman's armour, he is fighting a Sarmatian archer236 and an equally armoured horseman. Foot soldiers, presumably taken from the HoE rigen, follow their master with shield and spear237.

The culture of Pantikapaion, the Bosporan empire in general, had, as we have seen, become a mixed culture since the 2nd century BC. The

Bosporan landowners had largely adapted to their Sarmatian neighbors and opponents in their way of life and armament238. Fixed forms emerged. They did not change when the Goths succeeded them, and neither did as then the WaraE ger

came239. The Germanic tribes here grew into predetermined forms of uE bervolkhcher duration

in. 1 Already under the Scythians, Russia was divided into the area of the arable cities and the forest area24". The latter, the Hylaia, lay in the mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper)2". To the west of it, as far as the Hypanis (Bug), were the "" Scythians242 , to the east the arable Scythians . The Nestor Chronicle244 still divides the Slovenes into two : one "settled on the Dnieper and called themselves Poljans (field people), the other Drevljans, because they lived in the forests". The Goths were also divided into Greutungen and Tervingen, into field and forest people (p. 95 above). Agriculture and animal husbandry on the one hand, forestry and timber farming on the other were thus a given. Both only applied to the lower , whose work for the ruling class. But the divorce also had to have an effect on the latter. The great land and herd owners were forced by the expansion of their and the protection they needed to lead a life of horsemen and warriors; the lord of the forest was the . Both are ancient forms of life in the Eurasian territories244"; both were inconceivable without horses.

The third area of life the steppe. Farming and forest areas have limitations within them: to humans, this means being rooted and restricted. A different law prevails in the steppe. Here the measure that was decisive there is missing. The weather is boundless in its cold and the icy breath of its ; the summer is boundless in its and heat, the spring with its , but also with the floods of 103

Meltwater pours over the land, transforming its soil into a yellow, gray or black mush. The uniformity of the is boundless, whether it is frozen under snowdrifts or covered with greenery and fields of flowers as far as the eye can see. All boundaries are lifted, forest and tree just as much as the slopes of the mountains, the rural district, the settlement. Man is forced to to the law of the steppe; it takes care of him and overpowers him. Its monotony deprives him of his fixed home and its infinity forces him to live a wandering life.

"Born between rivers and lakes, growing tall in wide plains between horses and cattle" is how a nomadic ruler once described his life245. Here Gothic life began to with that of the new neighbors, the Alans.

As already mentioned, this people was located between the Don and the Volga; its eastern part reached as far as the Aral Sea. Here it is attested by Chinese reports246, but also archaE ologically247. From the middle of the 1st century

n. Zw., the Eastern Alans were in relations with the Huns248; around 350 AD, the entire people was subjugated by them. Together with them, they crossed the Don in 375 and set off towards the west249. However, parts of the Alans had already advanced towards the Danube (see p. 97 above) and

had passed through areas that to the Sarmatians on their way. How the Alans and Sarmatians got on with each other and how they got on with the Goths is a matter of conjecture250. If the Alans were summarily referred to as a Gothic tribe251 , they must have entered into close contact with the Germanic tribes, either in whole or in part, and were probably Germanized252. In the

In contrast to the Goths, who remained peasants253, and the nobility, who presumably, like the Bosporan landowners, established their rule over the peasant serfs who had existed since time immemorial254, the Alans acted as nomads.

Despite this difference, the two peoples quickly came into . First of all, the language bears witness to this. Alanian loanwords in Gothic255 are not certain. But according to the testimony of Ossetian, the successor of Alanian that still survives in the Caucasus today, Gothic loanwords were absorbed by it256. These include such an important word as Gothic gawi = digoric yau, yauE , tagauric qau, qauE "village "257 The nomadic Alans thus derived their word for the village, it has been correctly concluded, from the

104

borrowed from the settled Goths. On the other hand, the Goths had their Neighbors important cultural assets ™™^^sitzen kerne HuE tteu,

"The Alans", it says in one of the ancient schools,

"be;ltz^ "och they use the plow. Instead, they feed on plenty of" milk, han on their carts, which are covered with -e^gcwott "n roof L bark; on them they move across the endlessly stretching steppe When they come to a grazing place, they drive their carts out in a circle and feed themselves in the manner of wild animals; when the grass has been harvested, the community moves on in carts. On the wagon, man and woman are joined, offspring are born and raised. It is their permanent residence, and in whichever region they wander, it is always home to the Alans, who drive their livestock in front of the herds. Carefully warn s.e of the bounty Ti L Land the soil always bears fresh growth and from Z* tu ZeU one arrives at

Places, there BaE ume them fruits give them fruit. So can ^Uherwhere to move on, because food nnd fodder bes^kem£gl both let the moisture of the soil and d,c haE ufigen rivers rich quantity grow." Two things stand out in its significance: the horse and clei wab had a lasting influence on the Goths.

The Goths had left their seats on the ^ because of uE bervmkerung"; sre moved out to look for new farmland. 1^"*"

*J" West Germanic peoples did not last long on the conquered shoU. After settling on the Black Sea, they were not separated from The way of life of the Sarmatians and Alans, to whom carts and chariots

rg HmW set the example. Even the Gotterbil er were driven£ Wa'en-'"; each Gau sees its herd on the Werse with

" have". The Goths became a people who were on the move; the gods took part in this attitude. And the effect on the Gothic warfare eu> Ms Ka.ser Gallnu Goths and Heruli on their from Greece and
j v^^rhtnTijr262 An entrenchment of together their wagon castle before the Vernicntung - -^iJLlc ° geflhTenfn Wanderkarren formed also with the KaE mpfen.ser^udm the RuE ckhalt of the Gotenhecres -; it formed it still m the Schlach b Adrianopel 378". It came to the point that the "barbarians" had to be presented as an advantage to the Romans, who themselves had long been
105

art of camp building265. Saint Ambrose was able to say of the Goths who had become Christians that the chariot now served them as a church, just as it had previously served them as a dwelling 266. In addition, fulfilled the

Nomad tent ecclesiastical purposes, just as the Iranian fire shrines were carried in this way 266a.
In general, the Goths in SuE drußland became the great movers and shakers as whom they live on in history. Their restlessness and wanderlust were the terror of their Roman neighbors. Ammianus Marcellinus knew no better way to praise Aurelian's greatness and his victory over God than to say that the terrible enemy had remained immobile for a full century267.
In addition to the chariot, the Alans also used horses. Like the Sarmatian breed, the Alanian breed was also highly . In an inscription, the Emperor Hadrian praised his deceased favorite horse, the Borysthenes Alanus Caesarea Veredus, who "flew" with him the swamps and of Tuscany268. The Goths knew how to ride when they came to Russia269. And yet, in contact with their nomadic neighbors, it took on a new meaning that surpassed all previous ones.
Sarmatians270 and Alans were considered cowardly in foot combat, but their attack in closed squadrons was irresistible. The horsemen were clad in armor made of iron plates or thick leather271 ; they wielded their long lances and swords with both hands from the saddle when they charged at the enemy with the cry Marha! Marha! at the enemy272.
A long series of conveys the image of these cataphracts. 92-93 Depictions from the Greek cities of South Russia stand next to rock paintings 94 from the upper Yenisei273, the reliefs of Trajan's column next to those of the Arch of Galerius in Salonika274. There you can see horsemen in scale armor275 reaching to the middle of their thighs or in an armored shirt that goes down to their feet. They usually wear a conical helmet276, always with the long equestrian lance. Sometimes the

Riders crosswise on their animals277. Pants and riding boots are common278 ; strangely, the is missing. And yet it was only this invention of the Sarmatians279 that provided a firm seat when striking with the lance; it allowed the archer to shoot freely in all directions, especially backwards280.

The most of the Sarmatian-Alanian armament was adopted by the Goths. They carried the cavalry lance, the contus™1. They adopted the spangenhelm and the
106
a Ai, Alans around the same time also to the Woguls the chain armor, which the Alans brought from g ctf,Wrstei^ . i u fc* V^en282 The chain armor with iron rod verstei and Ostjaken . The
How he was killed in Dura on the Euphrates "^J* * J yisigothorum
We by the Goths Word ^ £ ^
Tacitus still knows the "long sword" from the Goths of the Vistula region and the "arena neighbor" as a Sudrussian heirloom. The long sword, the £ " from the ; baked weapon of the
Armored horse with the Goths . Anch the ^■m To the , these Germanic tribes received from their neighbors signs of attack high the Goths thre standards up, w.
The SuE drussian tomb paintings also show i8cheB The cavalry quickly became the first weapon. ^" ^^ Ln on foot in
Heeren always given. f^^^^Z - "fem those of the "mixed"
Rampfwe.se But now tra
The Iranian-style cavalry, which was armed to the teeth, formed the core of the army.
the rexter were well rested when _
nothing, if ^^ZetLicte des Gotenhcercs in der bewerfen"', so lay even then the heavy weight & own
ridden troop. The Alans were later -g" 0^"" cavalry in the ranks. The Ostrogothic cavalry was to be "strengthened" by aliens.
Battle hei Adrianople the decision ^^T^J, AnContemporaries", "she drove under the rdem r^ stuE rm came in way, was ridden down." Beroia a hundred years earlier the Gothic coE king ICmva shattered the army of Decm". Presumably the blow was already struck by
led". Model for the Roman Empire
Alongside the Alans and Huns, the Goths set the example
• , 300 t ii" ""realms of sotic life penetrated Plerd and
" terei ab". Into all areas of the equestrian . As in Iran since the Parthians (p. 22 above), the is imagined to be on horseback:
107

"Now he sits armed on a Gothic steed, his shield on the shoulder of the Prince of the Maerings"
- it says of Theodoric on the rune stone of RoE k301. Armed on horseback with shield and lance, the was also depicted on his bronze statue in Ravenna301a. Before the battle of Taginae, King Totila showed his agility in a game of horseback riding with the lance302 : it was the jerid, the spear riding, an exercise of Iranian origin303. The funeral of the hero was celebrated by cavalrymen. Attila's corpse was circled selected horsemen:

they circled it as in a circus and sang the dead man's praises in their own song. Then they celebrated a huge feast on the tomb, mixing joy with mourning for the dead. Our historian speaks of Huns and Hunnic custom, but the name of the feast303* is Gothic. The sevenfold ride around the laid-out dead was also known to theTu-kiu304, a tribe of the Huns305. But alongside this similarity are significant differences306. And the Germanic tribes also knew the price of the deceased, the circumambulation of the grave:

"Then the heroes rode around the hill, twelve noblemen all together.
Wanted to lament sorrow, remembering the king, burying words, speaking well of him.
They praised his manhood, glorified his heroic work"

-says the Beowulfslied307. The type of equestrian and hereditary Germanic customs308 came together here to complement and fertilize each other.

6.

The growing importance of the horse remained a characteristic of the East Germanic peoples. Things were different in the west. When the Alamanni formed up for the decisive onslaught at the Battle of Strasbourg in 357, the demand of the commoners forced the mounted nobility to dismount their horses and take to their heels309. Even in the 6th century, it was noticeable that the Frankish army was mainly composed of foot soldiers; only a few horsemen gathered around the commander310.

tobest, the Goths had entered a "rice into which, the animal always and exclusively It was da8 aggressive

The Germanic tribes lacked ^^The masks of the beasts of prey, which they had suitable as a forebnd K p rf. panicked warriors let them fj^^^l "n a symbol """- Hnnd was just b" *£"£ ^ ^ comrte

caE mpferischer Besessenhe.t' . The Schmu _^ on the same animals in the animals that are ge,

into animal forms ^l^^gB1^ su pre- and Ebenmanic nature because of.hrer strong, ^malming attacks,

took'". On them "^^^^.Itoto theRomans with theuE ngestuE m wuE ting f^^^e^o]lsI^m WO KaE mpfer with the bullhoE mers ^"T^^^J* threatening GebaE rden, as mask- wanted" itself ..bulls", or,"" sem d ,

with gnashing of teeth and ^^^^to".. The cacaoE mpheEcSta xnB^ spoken of by the elderly:

Anyone who denies it has nothing of the spirit of the enchanted world that Bohuslan hexes. The images of more than homely greatness, of l.eren KaE mpfers (may he now em

at Litlesby. Mighty stretches "ch d"^ kaE mpferischen Ekstase,

God™ or a human heathen .smnmia ^

perhaps to his strength and masculinity, but not to the fact he is g

its fertility. crMakes the leather-covered When the women of the Cimbri "saw" the chariot covers during the battle, this ^^may be the

Effect l-^.^^.^!^"^ Parthians their attacks ^^-^ymskvida
"his beard up. In anger, Thor, according to the inry Rigveda, "began to to his head of hair"". "J^-^^^^L waltig den Bart schuE ttelnd" itself ^ff.^^ Wurzeln auf beiden Seidurch den Gebrauch von sprachgeschichtlich gleichen wu "fuE hrt "5, ten, hat geradezu Annahme einer indogermanischen , Schon ihfwaE re die kaE mpferische Ekstatik nicht fremd Ekstatik, darüberuE hinaus ein daE monisches und uuergrundbches Wesen,
109

Wodan for who he was; they were also expressed in his name324. Some of this god's attributes can be compared with WaE inaE imoE inen, the primal shaman and primal sorcerer of Kaiewala325. Eber, BaE r and Wolf appear in the Gothic proper names326. As a Germanic heritage thus also the Goths a

The Germanic tribes and the equestrian nomads met in this, only to part company. This is where Germanic tribes and nomadic horsemen met; they met only to part ways. For the Germanic tribes considered attack, close combat and facing the enemy to be the virtues of the hero. The Gothic horsemen fought only with sword and lance; the bows were relegated to the rear327. When it came to a decision, the Vandals even put aside their lances: they went into battle with swords alone328. For the nomadic warriors such exclusive valuation was alien. , ambush and surprise, disguised flight, elimination from a distance - these were the means they preferred to . The nomad's warlike existence was characterized not so much by the image of the aggressive beast, but by animalistic flight and pursuit, in opposition to the predator and the ambushed, by speed and cunning. In the process, both constantly change shape: if one wants to escape as a dove, the opponent grabs him as an eagle; if he flees in fish form, the pursuer catches him as a pike329. Like the game of fleeing and pursuing, such a change was also alien to Germanic nature. It is the same contrast that was repeated in the of the Germanic tribes with the Huns, the Franks with the Avars, the Germans with the early Magyars and the Mongols. In his "Battle of Hungary", E. Peiner has given it - one might say: expression. The equestrian tribes also wanted to depict animals: , wolverines, beasts and other bloodthirsty, defensive predators. According to Chinese reports, the Tu-kiu, a group of Huns (see p. 58 f. above), carried a golden wolf's head330 at the top of their banners. They themselves believed the Wu-sun331 of a woE lfischen mother

descendants332; the bodyguard of the king of the Tu-kiu was also as "WoE lfe" named333. Warriors on the wall paintings East Turkestan carry the wolf standard334 or the dragon flag, with with a wolf's head335; elsewhere the stag appears in the same place336. The transition from human to animal does not take place as an exceptional case, as in the

case of the berserker or weir wolf, and not only in a frenzy of battle and bloodlust, but constantly and 110
v, p fixed law337. In animal transformation the shaman descends into the £enZSL* or into the underworld; the supreme god flew around as a goose when he created the world. Warriors and heroes also often only need a magic word to effect the transformation. The T.erstxl was an expression of the nomadic imagination. As old as the equestrian peoples southern Europe, it first came with Shen and their Cimmerian predecessors339 from the AsaUsch^ wSlieten. The Sarmatians brought from their homeland a new wave of J powerful and yet highly refined art, which differed from the n styles in its colorfulness. Weapons and tools,
^SS^U" were adorned with colorful stones. f- Ln with animal , depictions of fighting and ve, SAI also recur here . The animal embroidery, belt clasps and strap tongues, felt appliqués and wool embroidery from the northern Balkans to outer Mongolia were guE drussiscuE en Gothic craftsmanship immediately came under the influence of metauE art. The brooch with a wrapped foot was created, ^00 n. Its triumphal march began from the new homeland of the Goths. F^gran and G nulLlng the applied stones were from the Bosporan city "AI igen lament by the sarmatis,^"J^J^ men. With wine-red almandines, like those found in India, the Goths covered the gold of their buckles and

Primers. The plat^JJ^^^? Wiesbaden Museum, which the name of the first Sasanid Ardesehir W 241, may already have been worked by a Goth344. At the beginning nu^
In the 4th century, the decisive turnaround began: the Gothic style was already present in the colorfulness, in the openwork and in the brooch forms345. Soon the first ti"^-^^^^ The animal heads of Gothic buckles from South Russia346 can be compared with those of Chinese belt hooks of the Han period347 or with the small bodices of Siberian metal art343; here as there it was nomads who were behind it349. The new tribe spread rapidly, especially to the north, where the connections had not been broken (even in the 13th century it was known in Gotland that some of the ancestors had turned to the south-east35*). The Germanic preference for the play of intertwined lines was combined with the art of the nomads352 to create a new, seminal creation: Germanic animal ornamentation.
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7.

In the 4th century, the Pannonian Danube frontier was increasingly equipped with cavalry353. This measure was directed against the Jazygians, Sarmatians and Quads, but also against the Vandals, who also pressing on the imperial border. The Maros, White, Black and Fast CoE roEs are said to have been their seats at this time354. Among the Vandals, the importance of the cavalry was not inferior to that of the Goths. Even when Aurelian forced the people to enlist, this weapon was of great importance: the emperor selected 2000 horsemen for his own army355.

In their Hungarian seats, the Vandals lived together with the part of the Alans who had advanced westwards (p. 97 above). Both tribes were united in their further destinies: in the African empire of Geiserich and his successors, the Alans are mentioned356. The rulers of the Vandals were also rulers of the Alans; the last in their line called himself King of the Vandals and Alans357. As the end of the empire approached under him, two defeats of the cavalry were enough to seal its fate358. It had become the only weapon that . The Vandals confirmed the image that the Goths had presented. They did not only possess it in tactics, they also did it in art. As the jewelry from the royal tombs of Sakrau in Silesia shows359 , the Vandals possessed a developed technique of granulation; they had their own animal style. The shield boss from HerpaE ly360 , like other pieces from the same circle, probably goes to the Vandals361 . In this , made around 300, provincial Roman intermingle with those of South Russian-Pontian origin. The art stream, which first came into contact with Germanic tribes in the cauldron of Gundestrup, had a renewed effect here. The beginning and climax of the great Germanic Southeast migration merged into a single entity over the centuries362.

The East Germanic way has thus taken over decisive traits from the equestrian peoples, from the inhabitants of the lands around the Black Sea in general. Is that why Germanism has given up?

First of all, there is a special feature that becomes clear when comparing the Goths with the Slavs363 . They too lived in the same area for centuries together with equestrian peoples of Central Asian origin. Subjugated and by them, often to the lowest level

human existence and human The Slavs only succeeded in establishing themselves 112

the freedom to fight for freedom. The long period of foreign rule has left deep traces in the Slavic character and it is not for nothing that Slavs and Tambov and east of the upper Don, Kaluga and on the

^= From the 3rd century onwards, the Gothic art of southern Russia and the area south of the Baltic had a strong influence. The Germanic tribes as bringers of turbulence. Later refers to the Sarmatians and the Alans365 as Gothic . It adds that all these were the same Alans ais g q , Sr>rachen366. This can only be understood in such a way that the Iranians of South Russia were largely Germanized. In the

^^"^ kaE mpferische Ekstase it offered itself a starting point; what -Judortaa went before s'ich was a penetration own with - "--^J^^^m the wandering instinct, the wandering into the distance were

carts367 and chariot castles were already used by the Cimbri on their wanderings £1*. And whole areas of Germanic nature are characterized by the foreigner.

^ outside of them. No-one is fit to fight on foot, but when they attack in squadrons, they are capable of

to resist." What the Romans feared was not the strength of the individual, which was expressed in man-to-man foot combat. It was the replacement of closed squadrons, the impenetrability of the armor, and the ambushes.
never gave up their inherited of the heroic ^369. Gothic and Vandal cavalry rejected the "^"^ long-range weapon37". Only the lance and sword were ; if the lance was even used, everything was placed on the closest

Close combat above p.110). The last king of the Goths, Teja, fell fighting in the front line*, which corresponds to the position of the Goths in the history of g"™^ poetry. They brought about the completion of the heroic song that shaped the martial deed. Far from their homeland, they knew only the great fate above them and their own power and strength within themselves. Thus they made heroism, heightened to tragic proportions, the measure of their might3-. The end of the Hamdir seems like a parable of Gothic destiny

song, which is of Ostrogothic origin. The brother and sister SoE rli and Hamdir have a superhuman battle. Now they stand in doomed solitude in the King's Hall, and Hamdir speaks:

"Well have we , we stand on the corpses of Goths, upright, whether , like aare in the branches; heroic fame we won, we die today or tomorrow: no one sees the evening when the Norne spoke.

SoE rli sank at the end of the hall,

and Hamdir fell on the house gable." The nomadic horsemen also seem to had an epic tradition; it also told of the fates of the heroes373. But how different it was from the Gothic heroic song! Flight and pursuit374, archery and wrestling375 took pride of place - forms in which cunning and skill were the most important factors. Anyone who thinks of the Kaiewala and its battles376 will it possible that magic also played a role. How different the oldest heroic song of the Goths that can be summarized377 : the song of the Battle of the Huns! A mass battle during which the rivers are , clogged with corpses, and the dead are wallowing in the doves.

At the center is the tragic duel between the sons of Heidrek. Brother meets brother: on the ninth day of the battle, Angantyr kills HloE d with the hereditary sword378 Tyrfing. . . .

In the song, the enemy is sent to Dylgia on the Dunheide under the Jassar Mountains, where the Goths have often won victories379. The Norse Hervar saga, which gives these details, has preserved a genuine historical memory. For the Dunheide is to be sought on the Don. The Dylgia of the song then today's Kossa Dolgjana, opposite Mariupol, and in the Jassar mountains one has recognized the Alanenberge379*. Here the border ran against the Huns, earlier against the Alans themselves. Is it too to assume that the former victories were over the Iranian neighbors? In any case, the contrast with the nomads is clear. For these were and remained a world without history380 : for the author of the Orkhon inscriptions, there was only a short span between the creation of the world and the present381 .

Like all of his kind, he lived in immediate and action. When Cassiodorus wrote down the history of the Goths, he was able to draw on a rich and tradition382. It was presumably conveyed to him by the work of Ablab'us383, who was one of the Gothic sources of the Goths.
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had indirect access. King lists, historical memory and a well-developed treasure trove of legends were here. The tradition largely , but it did not have to be exclusively so. In contrast to the nomads, who were not only without history but also without writing384 , the Goths possessed an alphabet. They had brought the runes with them from the north. In the Song of the Battle of the Huns, the "army staff" is described with

The runes were hurled over the enemy as a declaration of war385. The sorceresses expelled by King Filimer were called haliurunnae and thus bore the runes in their names386. Gothic runes have been preserved on the spearhead of Kowel, in the vessel inscription of Poiana387 and on the ring of Pietrossa. In SuE drußland, the Goths succeeded in creating a new alphabet and the first Germanic written language.
Even where the Goths adopted an institution of their Iranian neighbors, such as the royal regalia, they did so under their own form. Many Germanic princely houses traced their origins back to gods, especially Wodan388. The closest relative of Wodan was *Gautaz, from whom the Goths derived their royal dynasty389. It is explicitly stated that they worshipped the victorious kings as demigods; that they, apparently after their death, ranked them among the Aesir390. Insignia of the same descent also belonged to godly rulership. The holy king's spear has been convincingly traced back to the vodan spear391 , the king's cloak to the god's blue celestial cloak392. The Gothic royal regalia demonstrates the continued effect of such a view. When Aligern had handed Cumae over to the Romans with the Ostrogothic royal treasure, he said393 that a future Gothic king - if such a king should arise again - would no longer to appear in royal dress, but in a soldier's tunic like a private citizen. After this, it seems that the Gothic royal regalia could not simply be replaced like the Parthian-Sasanian, Roman or Byzantine regalia - as if it had been sacred to a greater degree. In Iran, the change of regalia was virtually mandatory. Each Sasanid, for example, wore his own crown, which distinguished him from his . How few circumstances there were in Rome with the

The way in which the imperial regalia could be worn is shown by the events surrounding the elevation of Julian: the diadem was quickly replaced by a torque placed on the head 394. In contrast, the Ostrogoths clung to their inherited insignia, just as they clung to the royal clan, the stirps regia395. All these views point to the Middle Ages. The
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This religious consecration and irreplaceability is reflected in the German imperial regalia or the Crown of St. Stephen.

One last point. After showing the strong Iranian influences to which the Goths were exposed in South Russia, the deeds and historical position of Ulfila come into new light. He has been seen as a missionary or a creator and shaper of languages396. Or behind the Arianism of his confession of mass and baptism, one has been able to the depths of Germanic faith397. But one thing has been . In the activity of the man, who spoke Greek and Latin in addition to his mother tongue 398; the turn to antiquity is also embodied. It was, as will be clear from the foregoing, anything but . The famous bowl of the gold treasure from Pietrossa, which shows strange similarities with Sarmatian works and the graecizing world of the Kushan gods399, that Iranian influences also penetrated the world of thought of the Goths. Ulfila's act took place in contrast to the previous attitude towards the Iranian neighbors; it also determined the future. The Ostrogothic period in Italy has been described as the last golden age of late classical art400.

Antiquity was at the same time the decisive act in the history of Germanic civilization.

One page of the Codex argenteus in Upsala captured the extent of these tensions. The imperial purple of the parchment; silver and gold script, modeled on the Greek; the Gospel text - but underneath the painted rows of niches that embody the Iranian influence401.

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- THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

1.

"The mountainous regions in the west and the plains in the east have always been among the most populous and lively areas of Arabia. Syria and Palestine, Hejaz and Yemen in particular from time to time in the history of European life. In terms of their cultural characteristics, these fertile and healthy mountainous countries belonged more to Europe than to Asia. Just as the Arabs always their eyes on the Mediterranean rather than the Indian Ocean, both for their cultural needs and economic ventures, and especially for their expansion. For the question of ethnic displacement is one of the strongest and most complex fundamental in Arabia; this applies to the country as a whole, however different it may be in the individual parts.

In the north (Syria), the cities had low birth rates and high mortality rates due to poor sanitary conditions and unhealthy lifestyles. As a result, the surplus rural population was absorbed into the cities and absorbed by them ... In Yemen, the solution was different. There was no foreign trade and no industrial centers to support the

The population in unhealthy places. The towns were nothing but market towns, primitive and rural like the villages. As a result, the slowly increased; the standard of living fell to a very low level, and a general overpopulation became . Emigration across the sea was . . . Expansion northwards towards the mountains just as impossible, as the route was by

the city of Mecca and its port of Jeddah. . . The in Yemen, which had almost become a state of emergency, therefore only found a way out in the east, with the border dwellers being pushed further and further down the slopes of the mountains, along the wadis, into the semi-desert area of the large water-rich valleys of Bisha, Dawasir, Ranja and Taraba, which further north into the Najdwu. The weaker tribes had to constantly exchange water-rich springs and fertile stretches of land for ever poorer and less productive ones, until they finally reached an area where farming alone became impossible. There they began to use their

daily livelihood through sheep and dromedary herding; and over time their livelihood became more and more on these herds. Finally, the frontier peoples, almost all of whom had already become shepherds, were driven out of even the most remote small oasis into the impassable wilderness in a final push by the suffering population, and they now became nomads. This process, which can be traced today among individual clans and tribes whose migrations can be precisely determined by place and time, must begun at the beginning of the full settlement of Yemen. The wadis below Mecca and

Taif is full of memories and place names of some fifty tribes that moved out from there and are perhaps to be found today in Najd, in the Jebel Shammar, in the Hamad or even on the borders of Syria and Mesopotamia. This is where the migration began, where nomadism emerged, the Gulf Stream of desert migrants originated.

The desert peoples were just as unstable as the inhabitants of the mountainous regions. The economic basis of their life was the stock of dromedaries; the strong highland pastures with their strong, nutritious thorny were most suitable for breeding. The Bedouins lived from this occupation; and it in turn shaped their existence, determined the area of the individual tribes 171,180 and kept them on a constant migration from the spring to the summer and winter pastures, depending on where the herds found their meagre food. The dromedary markets in Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt decided how many people the herd could feed and regulated exactly how much they could live on. Occasionally, the desert was also overpopulated compared its fertility. Then the countless tribes began to push and shove each other in the natural urge to a place in the sun. They did not want to wander southwards to inhospitable sand or sea. They could not turn westward, for the steep slopes of the Hejaz were densely populated by mountain who enjoyed the advantage of a defensive position. Sometimes they advanced towards the central oases of er-Riad and Kasim; and if the tribes seeking new residences were strong and powerful, they might succeed in partially occupying them. But if the desert had not held its strength, they were driven step by step to the north, into the region of

between Medina in the Hejaz and Kasim in the Najd, until they meet at the fork of two roads.

were located. They could turn east, via Wadi Rumh and Jebel Shammar, and eventually follow the Batn to Shamiye, where they became river Arabs on the lower Euphrates. Or they could slowly climb, rung by rung, the ladder of the western oases - Henakijeh, Cheibar, Teima, Jof and the Sirhan - until they happily approached Jebel Drus in Syria or their herds in the northern desert around Tadmor, on the way to Aleppo or Assyria.
But even then, the pressure did not leave them: the relentless pull northwards continued. The were to the edge of the cultivated areas of Syria or Mesopotamia. Favorable opportunity and the stomach issue convinced them of the benefits of keeping goats and then sheep; and eventually they began to grow crops, if only a little barley for the livestock. They were no longer Bedouins and suffered just as much as the tribesmen from the raids of the nomads who followed. Of their own accord, they made common cause with the already settled rural population and found that they too were now farmers. So we see how , born the highlands of Yemen, are driven into the desert by stronger tribes and become nomads against their will in order to keep themselves alive. We see how, year after year, they migrate a little further north or east, how they are led through the desert by one or other of the well paths, until finally the pressure forces them out of the desert again and they settle, just as against their will as they had been forced into nomadism before . This

The cycle gave the Semites their power. There are few, perhaps none at all in the north, whose ancestors not even wander through the desert in dark prehistoric times. Each of them bears more or less the mark of nomadism, the most severe and drastic breeding."
2.
The remarks of a man of thought have been prefaced because they give the law of life in Arabia. Written with regard to present-day conditions, the words of E. T. Lawrence1 have a validity that extends beyond Today . With insignificant changes, they can be transferred to the time that concerns us.
The starting point here should also be Yemen. It is not our task,

to present the intricate and still partially unexplained history of the SuE darabian states and kingdoms. After Carsten Niebuhr, the famous father of a famous son, opened up the antiquities of Yemen to scholarly treatment for the first time, it became clear that the succession of the MinaE er, SabaE er and Himjarites in the supremacy of SuE darabia had been established. Just as the SabaEers the MinaEers around the middle of the 7th century BC, a tribe that had previously inhabited a small area in the far southwest of Arabia succeeded the SabaEers. The Himjarites, or, as the classical authors call them, the Homerites, had the ruling position since around 115 BCwith their rulers in contrast to the preceding them.
"kings of Saba" as "kings of Saba and Dhu Raidan "2.

In place of the SabaE is Marib, the new dynasty made Zafar3, which appears in the sources as Saphar or Sapphar4, its capital. It was located near present-day Jarim on a hill with circular layout5 ; the ruins can still be there. The imperial castle of Raidan6, after which the called themselves, was also in Zafar. Otherwise, little was changed in the structure and attitude of the South Darabian state system. The Himjarites were closely related to their predecessors. Language and script remained the same. As before, the ruled as a priest and powerful landowner7 over a state whose structure was modeled on that of the ShabaE is. What remained was the developed agriculture, which Pliny8 still mentions and to which the preserved wells, cisterns and dams bear witness9. The harvesting of incense, which was regarded as a ritual act, formed the basis of wealth at all times10. In contrast, trade, which was the other source of wealth, underwent a change.

Although frankincense was also harvested in Sheba itself and in Qataban, the bulk of the precious spice came from Hadramaut11 . Here, Zafar in the Mahra region, not to be confused with the Himjarite capital of the same name, was the center of trade. The incense route led from Zafar via Shabwa (Hadramaut), Timna (Qataban) and Marib to Main (Jof)12, but other products had travel much further. Pearls from the Persian Gulf, , ornate fabrics and swords from India, slaves, ivory, gold, jewelry13 and ostrich feathers from Abyssinia found their way to the South Arabian ports

it

By mastering the sea route to India and the opposite African coast, MinaEer and SabaEer were to the imported goods to the western markets together with the products of their own country. They either took the sea route via the Red Sea or, as this posed difficulties for shipping, they used the great trade route15 that from Marib via Mecca and through the Hejaz to Syria. The MinaEers had advanced their outposts as far as el-Ela and the SabaEers16 as far as the oasis of Teima. In seventy days the dromedary caravans reached the Gulf of Aqaba17 from Main (Minaia). Here it was the Nabataeans18 who took over the further transportation and shared the profits with the southerners. Under the early Ptolemies19 , this profitable business received a severe blow. Ptolemy II Philadelphus initially turned against Petra and the monopoly position occupied by the Nabataeans. He was unable to eliminate the independent existence of this kingdom. But he did everything he could to draw South Arabian trade away from Petra and establish a direct link between Egypt and Arabia20. He had a canal built between the Nile and the Red Sea21 ; ports such as Berenice and Myos Hormos were built on the Egyptian coast22. Above all, he formed a close alliance with the LiHjanite kingdom of el-Ela23, which we will encounter later as an opponent of the Nabataeans (see p. 128 below). Ptolemy II's were crowned success. The sarcophagus of a MinaEc merchant is known, who, presumably from el-Ela, delivered incense from South Darabia to the Egyptian temples and exported Egyptian linen by ship to his homeland24. The Nabataeans' attempt to seize the

Arab - Egyptian maritime trade was quickly by punitive measures on the part of the Ptolemies. The later rulers of the house were able to maintain this trade policy25. Only in the north did they suffer a loss. The slowly regained their old position26. They gained control over the caravan routes of the Sinai Peninsula and, from their port of Leuke Korne27, also over part of the maritime trade in the Red Sea28. In the meantime, however, a unique discovery had come to the aid of the Ptolemies. Towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy IX Euergetes II, Eudoxos of Cyzicus undertook the first voyages to India, about Poseidonios left a vivid account29. At the same time, Hippalos recognized the labor of the

He was the first to abandon coastal shipping and sail across the high seas to India using the southwest monsoon30. This wrested the previous monopoly, the connection with India, from the hands of South African shipping. Direct shipping traffic between Egypt and India began31.

The result was a decline in Yemen's previous wealth and economic prosperity. It is perhaps to assume that the fall of the ShabaE is and the rise of the Himjarite kingdom at the end of the 2nd century B.C. was linked to this turnaround32. But even the Himjarites were unable to regain their former position in the India trade 33. For the Romans, once in possession of Egypt, continued the policy of the Ptolemies. Although the expedition that Aelius Gallus undertook against SuE darabia in 24 B.C. - primarily due to the ambiguous stance of

of the Nabataeans - without success. However, as Pliny35 and the description of the Red Sea coasts36 show, shipping traffic had existed since Neronian times34 , making the Roman Empire independent of South Arabian mediation. It was no longer the ports of Arabia Felix but Alexandreia37 that was now the preferred transhipment point. In the 1st century AD, the Himjarites were in Roman patronage38 and there was a garrison in Adana, today's Aden39. The important city was still in Roman hands around 40040. Under Emperor Marcus, a group of Roman merchants reached the court of the Chinese Emperor Huan- ti by sea in 16641. In Alexandreia in the 2nd century, people were so familiar with Indian that in a mimos42 people used the Canarese dialect43. This played the same role here as Carthaginian in the

"Poenulus" by Plautus44. The upward trend in trade with India continued until the time of Caracalla45. The consequences for SuE darabia were all the more detrimental. From the Roman occupation of Adana46 onwards, the city was expected to decline. The 2nd century saw the rise of a separate Himalayan military practice46a.

Under the pressure of the increasingly economic situation, which may have been exacerbated by the temporary rule of the kings of Aksum (see p. 168),47 Yemeni began to migrate northwards. Through the steppes and deserts of central Arabia, they slowly advanced towards the Syrian and Mesopotamian borders. They took their gods with them to the north: Jauk,

Nasr (perhaps Ammianas), who are described in the Koran as pagan gods
124
but the caravan gods Arsu and Azizu were also of Sudarabic origin4-. Native tradition associated this migration with the breaking of the

large dam of Marib, the former capital, in connection. Through the two

Two events of this kind are recorded in the >>DambrU^nSC]1^ of Marib, in the years 449-450 and 542-543 AD48. Both times the damage was repaired: the catastrophe seems to have occurred only between 543 and 57049 It has been rightly noted that the dam burst was less a cause than a symptom of the general decline. For the great SuE darabian migration51 began long before the date indicated. The two most famous ruling dynasties of ancient Arabia, the Ghassanids and the Lachmids, linked their origins to one of the dam breaches at Marib. The Ghassan in Hauran, later the pillars of Roman rule in the area, had their era begin with the event52. The Tanukh of Hira, the Taiji, the banu-Kaila in Medina, the Kinda and other tribes of central and northern Arabia, who are still to be discussed, claimed to be of South Arabian origin53. But especially in the case of the Konigs and the Tanukh of Hira, it will be shown that their immigration began far , as early as the 3rd century AD (see p. 135 i. below).
3.
Syria54 appears to be protected on all sides by natural borders. The sea to the west, the to the east, the Taurus Mountains to the north and the upper reaches of the Euphrates to the northeast. The double chain of mountains southwards forms a strong protective wall. But appearances deceiving. Syria has always been a transit country and, as result, it has always been a conquered land. Conquerors advanced along the coast in the Orontes Valley from north to south or in the opposite direction. And 142 from the east, the land was exposed to the advances of the nomads, who had to conquer the sedentary

settlers invaded and them. The pressure from the South and the interior of the Arabian Peninsula drove the inhabitants of Hamad towards the "fertile crescent" of the two cultural landscapes of Syria and Mesopotamia.
The outcome of the battle depends on the strength of the central regiment in Syria If the Bedouins, who live under the tent of hair cloth, the Tanuch (see p. 135 below) or, according to the ancient expression, the Skenitai55 , are denied the Kul
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If the nomads are not allowed to visit the fertile land with their invaders, they must limit themselves to what is willingly to them and their herds. midsummer dries up the common pastures and the waterholes of the Hamad, the nomadic herders cross the border of the fertile land to graze their animals on the green banks of the rivers or on the harvested fields. Even today, the Bedouin still appear in the Bekaa between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and further north in the Orontes Valley as far as Aleppo at

precisely defined times and in compliance with no less precise rules. By letting their animals glean in the fields, they provide the natural .
If the Bedouins want to settle, they have to make do with what is still uncultivated. They have to start cultivating and irrigating the strip of land on the edge of the Hamad56. To the extent that they succeed in this, they can move from a nomadic to a settled life. A strong regiment shields them from the invasions of their former tribesmen. This was the case under Ptolemy IL, when Tubias, the chieftain of the Ammonites, of Rabbath Ammon, the later

Philadelphia from, as a Ptolemy's vassal and with Egyptian rulers Transjordan protected57. Or later, since Herod, as a Roman client king, assumed the same role. the same role.

Conversely slips a Conversely, control over the Bedouin tribes quickly slipped out of the hands of a weak regiment. Their followers oppress the local farmers, put them unaffordable taxes plunder them and finally force them to leave their farms and settlements. If the settlement of the Bedouins led to the fertile land advancing against the steppe, now the steppe is advancing against the fertile land. The abandoned areas remain undeveloped, the The abandoned areas remain undeveloped, the irrigation systems fall into disrepair and the desert reclaims the land taken from it. With the collapse of the Seleucid power, this state occurred. The Arab states took advantage of the increasing weakness of the empire to secure their own advantages. Their "phylarchs" levied oppressive taxes on the caravans passing through on the upper reaches of the Euphrates. Sampsikeramos established himself in Emesa andArethusa, the Nabataeans in Damascus. The Ituraeans crossed the Jordan and established their rule in Chalcis. rule and expanded their raids as far as the Phoenician and across the south of Syria58. Only Roman rule brought about change again. Pompey's reorganization of the East was subject to only a fraction of rule. Until Augustus' time, a colorful map59 of eastern dominions remained in place. The heavy in

The armed legionaries had repeatedly drawn the short straw against the archers on moving horses and dromedaries. They thus avoided direct encounters with the dangerous enemy and entrusted the defense of the border to Arabs and Iturans. Once also nomads and familiar with the nomadic way of fighting, they had

In the meantime, they had settled on the edge of the desert60. They were orderly and reliable than the nomads, because they were under firm leadership61. Their tetrarchs and ethnarchs became vassal princes who paid tribute to Rome. This order did not last either. The first century AD saw the absorption of the client princes. Indirect rule was replaced by direct rule. Through Trajan, the Nabatae became roE mish62 . The creation of the province of Arabia in 106 AD was the conclusion of a process that placed Syria under unified rule from the Taurus to the Hauran, from the sea to the Euphrates. At the same time, the border defence was reorganized64.

In the north, a series of forts protected the right bank of the Euphrates, reaching downstream to Anatha65. It continued , on the edge of the Hamad, and merged into a veritable limes at the border of the new province of Arabia66. The legionary camp of III Cyrenaica in Bostra formed the center of the defense. A road running from the borders of Syria to the Red Sea, built by C. Claudius Severus in 111-11467 , continued northwards over the Jebel Sinjar to the Tigris68 . Its paving, the solid construction of the , the rest that accompanied the course of the road - all this made the complex a masterpiece of its kind.

It is thus clear that since then, i.e. also the period of the 3rd century AD, the history of the Syrian border region with that of Rome. Petra and Gerasa, Palmyra and Dura, insofar as they to be mentioned, must be treated in this context. An independent life only begins on the other side of this border, especially in the northern Hejaz. Here Medain Saleh was the advanced post of the Nabataeans on the

trade route that to the South. The tombs from the 1st century AD found there show all the of Nabataean art. Numerous inscriptions confirm this. Medain Saleh was an important trading center. Goods coming from the interior or from the south of Arabia were brought from here to Egypt or to the Mediterranean ports69.

Immediately south of Medain Saleh are el-Ela and Chereibe. The 97-100 graves there are simpler. However, finds of large statuary sculptures made in the Chereibe d area70 show a pre-Islamic culture of distinction flourished here. It belonged to the Lihjanites, whom Pliny71 here as Lechieni or Leanitae. The tribe, together with the closely related Thamudenes, had offered a foothold to the advance of the Nabataeans to SuE. When the kingdom of Petra became a Roman province, they followed. According to Medain Saleh, the Lihjanites, the likewise NabataEc el-Hedjr (Hegra) had taken possession of these or the Thamudenes around 250 AD72. At that time, the Thamudenes became the trading people that they appear to be73 (see p. 167 below).

The Thamudic inscriptions are spread over a wide area74. They extend from the northwestern Hejaz to el-Jof in central Arabia; on the other hand, they extend over ancient Midian, Edom and the Moabite country to the Sinai Peninsula and as far as Egypt (see p. 167). The dialect is North Arabian, and if South Arabian names appear sporadically, this was merely an after-effect of the fact that el-Ela was originally a MinaE ish trading colony75. In general, the SuE Darabic

minaE ish culture strongly influenced the image of the Thamudic and LiHjanite culture76. The inscriptions were written in the SuE darabic alphabet77.

The same was the case with the Safa'itic inscriptions, the bulk of which were found in the inhospitable Safa Mountains south of Damascus78. Again, they are written in a North Arabian dialect79, but some signs,

especially theophoric proper names80, that the Safalts had immigrated from SuE darabia81. The majority of the inscriptions date from the Trajanic period82. But some go back to the reign of Septimius Severus83, Odaenath of Palmyra84 and one even to the beginning of the 4th century85.

While some of the Thamudenes already settled, lived in villages and were depicted with a plow in their hands86 , the Safalten remained nomads to a far extent. They migrated from the black stone desert of the Harra, between the Hauran and Safa mountains87, to northern Syria and the Euphrates88. Although they had adopted some of the language89 and religion90 from the northern Semites, the keeping of dromedaries and horses, donkeys, sheep and goats points to the life of the Bedouin91. The herding of these animals, their possession and sale appear in the Safaiite

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Inscriptions. In addition, the possession of water points and camp sites92, but also such typical Bedouin traits as pride in a genealogy93 or longing and sadness at the sight of an abandoned dwelling and camp site94. These wandering nomads, who only settled down in a few places95 , were already largely beyond the reach of Rome. , especially deserters from the Roman army, found a shelter here , the for the

The guard police usually remained out of reach96. The formation of independent rulerships occurred much . The appearance of the Ghassanids, who in turn came from the Arab SuE den, does not belong until the 6th century A..97 The first secure ruler of the house, HarithArethas, son of Jabala, was victorious over Alamundaros of Hira in 52 8 98. But before that, a representative of the other dynasty of SuE darabian origin appears on the Syrian eastern border99. As vassals of the Great Kings in Ctesiphon, the Lachmids had subjugated the whole of northern and central Arabia early on. They had occupied the oasis of Dumat el-Jandal and attempted the same with Teima in the Hejaz100. Like Teima, Dumat, the ancient Dumatha101 and present-day el-Jof102, was located on an important trade route. It led from the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to Damascus, Bostra or Emesa103. Arab tradition even reports of fights between Jadhima of Hira (see p. 136 below) and Queen Zenobia of Palmyra104. She also appears together with Jadhima's successor Amr in the new Mani find in Coptic104". What is certain is that an Arabic inscription in the Nabataean alphabet was found on the eastern slope of the Hauran, in Namara, which attests to a Lachmid there at the beginning of the 4th century AD105. It is Imrulkai's him Amr (died 7. 12. 328), who calls himself "King of all Arabs" and tells of having sent his sons to the Persians and Romans. The Lachmids held at least Dumat until the eve of the Hejra106. Scattered finds107 of typical Iraqi pottery108 in barbotine technique, dating from the late Tsasanid period and probably also at that time, have been found in the area around Aleppo. Similar pieces were excavated in Hira109. Perhaps

This can be seen as evidence of the continued influence of the Lachmids on Syria's border regions.

4.

The Syrian population bears the essence of the country in its own right. Syria is a country of transit: that is why its inhabitants are always ready and to accept. Syrians are characterized by a strong ability adapt and change, a quick grasp of every situation110 . But Syria is also the land of clear light: a light whose power all outlines stand out from afar, the plastic forms with luminous, transparent colors. Anything that fades into semi-darkness, anything that blurs and confuses is alien to the Syrian. He is characterized by a grasping intelligence, whose speed and clarity resembles that of light and which has no equal among other peoples.

But these swift and agile are at the same time the unstable and fickle111 ; the restless but not always successful doers; the eternal to whom reverence and loyalty are alien. The Syrians excel in trade and in all the requirements of urban life; their intelligence is from the outset that of the Great . They enjoy the beautiful moment, hence their uninhibited, exuberant joy of celebration112. But anything permanent and persistent, anything that demands tenacity and perseverance, is alien to this people. A bird-like agility and maneuverability all too quickly burns up the strength that would be necessary for such action. Thus the spirituality of the Syrians is more like a hot and rapid fire than one that provides comforting warmth; it is more dazzling than deep

or even fruitful. The Syrians never fully achieved lasting statehood. for their bravery and , feared for their mockery, they were and remained subjects. Certainly not reliable ones, but they never caused the regiment any serious difficulties.

Iraq is different. The colorfulness and diversity of the Syrian landscape is contrasted here with a far more monotonous picture. In a short, intoxicating that the steppe with tall orchids, tulip and poppy fields right up to the horizon, the vegetation opens . Like a bell, the sky is the only boundary, stretching over an unseen sea of color . . . But the blossom quickly passes and for the rest of the year the land always looks the same. The fertile loess of the alluvial soil covers plants and with its gray-brown dust, darkens the sky into a dense and oppressive haze, covers

everything in the same, dress. Accordingly, nature has spared the country's inhabitants the Danaer gift of Syrian intelligence. The inhabitant of Iraq is heavier, earthier, . But even if he is bigger and slower, he is also made of stronger stuff. It always proves to be defiant, persistent and stubborn. No wonder that the state formations of the Arab world, insofar as they claimed independence, did not grow up in Syria, but on the soil of Iraq. The feudal structure of the Parthian state meant a variety of local powers developed here too. The political map of the country was no less colorful than that of Syria under the late Seleucid and early Roman rule. Vassal kings, who had to support the overlordship of the Great King

recognized, there were in the Osrhoene113 and Adiabene with their main cities Edessa and Arbela114, in the GaramaE a with Kirkuk1140, in Spasinu Charax or, what was probably the same, in the Mesene115. Behind them, as with the Parthians themselves, stood the heads of the great dynasties, the
"SoE hne of the HaE user" or Megistanes, the satraps and the mass of the lower nobility, who were equipped with command positions116. In addition, there were smaller rulers like Hadad-nadin-achi('A5a5vaStvaxrj?) of Tello117, the lords of Nippur and Forat118; like the phylarchs of the Arabs in Mesopotamia119 and those of the Jews in the Babylonian satrapy120; like the semi-independent Greek city communities: the two Seleukeia, on the Tigris and on the Euphrates, and others.
All of these rulers carried within them the urge to become independent. The vassal kings sometimes refused to join the army. Narsai, the king of the Adiabeneans, did not go to war with Vologeses IV (it is not known whether the war against Septimius Severus or against the Persians and Medes121 is meant). "Then these criminal were enraged," the Chronicle of Arbela122 reports of the Parthians, "and after they had returned victorious from the war, they invaded our country, destroyed and plundered our , and then went to their homelands; but they carried off King Narsai in the Great Zab." Shortly afterwards, the kings of Adiabene and GaramaE a joined forces with the Persians against the last Arsacid123. This is a glimpse into the that preceded the collapse of the Parthian Empire. The the central regiment, the more open the attempts at independence became. As in other parts of the empire, in the land between the Euphrates
131
and Tigris had developed a hereditary officialdom. The satrapy of Mesopotamia was apparently in the permanent possession of the Suren family, which was also the ruling dynasty for Sakestan124. In the last days of the Parthian Empire, new dynasties arose everywhere that were in actual possession of independence. For a time there was an independent Jewish kingdom of Asinaios and Anilaios in lower Iraq, which was perhaps recognized by Artabanos IV125. A similar situation emerges in upper Iraq, where Arab phylarchs of Greek or indigenous cities have always claimed and assumed the title of king. The best known of these were the Abgars of Edessa, who thus became rulers of the Osrhoene126. In the Trajanic period they were joined by a number of other princes of the same origin, such as Sporakes, the phylarch of Anthemusias and lord of Batnai127, Mannus, perhaps the lord of Singara128, Manisarus of Gordyene129 and the kings of Hatra. The significance of the development can be grasped from these in particular. The city was located in the territory of an Arab tribe129*, whose origins are not reported. Like the Shammar, its modern-day successors, it must have advanced from central Arabia across the Euphrates129b. Within the Arab tradition there are traces that point beyond this to the South. Satirun, the king of the Syrians and lord of Hatra, is regarded as the son of Daizan or is even equated with him130. As has long been recognized131 ,

he is identical with the king Sanatruk, of whom an inscription was found in Hatra132. Daizan, however, was counted among the Kudaites133 , who belonged to the Yemenite tribes134. Hardly anything can be said about this. Two of the sanctuaries135 of Dura-Europos - with a square cella, four pillars supporting the roof in the

The interior and monumental entrance - find their closest equivalent136 in the Sabaean temple of Jeha in 127-130 Abyssinia137. However, the square sun temple at Hatra, with its barrel-vaulted enclosure and cella138 , is more likely to be of Iranian origin140. There may have been a settlement on the site in Assyrian times. But it was hardly significant. Nearby Assur had no reason to tolerate the emergence of a community in its own neighborhood141. It is not known when the Bedouin tribe, which was later called Hatra, settled here. Presumably it happened under similar forms and at the same time as in neighboring Edessa, which, originally a Macedonian colony142 , became the seat of a

independent Arab kingdom143. Phyles and archons were transformed into Bedouin clans and sheikhs; the former phylarch became king, but retained the old name in local usage144. Arab phyles145 can also be assumed in Hatra. And again, the phylarch146 of the former Bedouin tribe changed into a more sophisticated as he settled down. Life was probably still semi-nomadic at first, as in the oldest Palmyra147. Under Trajan, when the decline of Parthian power was evident, Hatra emerged for the first time with its own position. It was still unsightly and without prosperity. The fortification consisted of a mud-brick wall148 , as still common in the inner-Arab oasis cities today. But it was not so much this wall as the inhospitable surroundings that kept the enemy out149. Lining

There was a lack of food for the animals and wood; drinkable water was only available in small quantities150. A siege army could not stay close to the city. It was exposed to the heat and the shortage/when the food they had brought with them was eaten, the flies covered the food and drink and made it unpalatable151. Supplies for the besiegers were also difficult. The next staging post m l^_ on the Tigris was on the site of ancient Assur152. A settlement stood on the ruined hill in Parthian times. The huge brick mass of the former ziggurat 136,149 served as its citadel. At its foot was the palace of the Parthian governor. From here it was two days' march to Hatra. The columns that had to bring food, water and the siege engines had to cover this distance. They were constantly harassed by the mounted Hatren troops153.

Trajan was the first to experience the resistance of the desert city. During a skirmish, the emperor himself, who despite his age was bravely on horseback, was in mortal danger154. The enemy's archers aimed their arrows at him, whom they recognized by his grey hair and the fierceness of his stance, even though he had discarded his insignia. The horse of the man next to him was under his body and it was not long before Trajan himself was wounded.

When Septimius Severus reappeared at the gates of the city, he encountered a prosperous and powerful community. Parallel to the further decline of the central power, the rise of Hatra had continued. The temple of the sun god was said to be filled with treasures155. They incited 127-129
133
122.124125.138
Severus' greed took hold. First he tried to take Hatra in 199 by a coup d'état156 , but in this country, where every piece of news spread among the tribes at lightning speed157 , surprise was bound to fail. In the following year158 the emperor appeared again, this time for a formidable siege. Hatra's fortifications had been strengthened in line with the city's prosperity159. Stone bulwarks were built into the former mud-brick wall like mighty bastions. A hail of arrows greeted the attackers and the bullets of the machines standing on the towers hit from afar160. Blazing pitch was showered down on those who had ventured close to the walls. And in the rear, the nimble cavalry of the Hatrenes gave the besiegers a hard time. They cut down anything that had strayed too far from the troops' camp during the quartering. At last, victory seemed to beckon for the emperor. All of the RoE mer's siege engines had been burned by the Hatrenians; only those built by the engineer Priscus remained intact161 . They succeeded in making a breach in the wall162. The Illyrian core troops163 were preparing to break in - and the emperor himself was ordered to pause164. He feared for the treasures of the Temple of the Sun: he had to leave them to the victorious soldiers, but they would have fallen into his hands if they had been handed over voluntarily. But the defenders had no intention of surrendering. During the night they built a new wall in place of the breach, and the next morning saw all the Romans' hopes dashed by the emperor's untimely greed. Once again they had to leave without having achieved anything. Only Shapur, the second Sasanid, succeeded in doing what the others had tried in vain. He closed the city with a firm line against the

outside world165. But even then, it was only the love and betrayal of the king's daughter of Hatra that brought down the city, as legend has it166. When Julian's army by the city a hundred years later, it lay abandoned167. "Have you not seen Hatra," sang the Arab poets16,8, "whose inhabitants were always at ease? But is anyone who lives well eternal?" - or:
"Against them marched Shapur, the lord of armies, with the elephants over whom the blankets were laid, and with the heroes."
"And he destroyed the rock blocks of the pillars of those fortresses, whose bases were like iron plates." Younger than the founding of Hatra was that of Hira. Centuries later, an Arab historian gave an account of it whose vividness has significance beyond the individual case169.
134
When Ardeshir had gained control Iraq, it is said, many Arabs did not want to remain in his kingdom and be subject to him. They left for Syria to join their fellow tribesmen living there. , however, other Arabs migrated to the

cultivated land of Iraq, mainly those who had burdened themselves with guilt and fled the blood feud170. Thus the inhabitants of Hira consisted of three classes. Firstly, the Tanuch: Arabs who lived west of the Euphrates, between Hira and Ambar 144 in and tents made of hair cloth. Then there were the Ibad, the actual inhabitants of Hira, who had settled there permanently. Finally, the protectors: they had joined the people of Hira, but belonged to neither of the two classes that had submitted to the Ardeshir, neither the tent-dwelling Tanuch nor the Ibad.

This is the content of the report. Hira was located on the border of cultivated land and , south of the later Kufa, south of today's Meshed Ali171 Two church complexes and pottery with Christian symbols have been found172. Accordingly, the Ibad are regarded in other traditions as the Christians of Hira; they formed the urban element173. As the name of the city shows, it was an Aramean foundation. As members of the Nestorian Church, the Ibad continued to use the Syriac language in their worship and literature, even if their colloquial language had become Arabic. In addition to the tribes, there was a layer of unsteady nomads moving towards the cultivated land of Iraq. The Safaitic inscriptions shed light on the significance of the blood guilt spoken of in the report. The of the violently killed, the plea for revenge, recurs constantly in them.175 These newcomers owned the area bordered by the Euphrates to the east and the to the west. The alluvial land was fertile and vines even grew in the swamps176. The Tanuch are described as half farmers and half Bedouins177. They were settled, but had not yet given up living under the tent. When they moved to Hira itself, they became part of the class178.

The boundaries between nomads and farmers are even more fluid in the alluvial plains of lower Iraq than elsewhere. Pastureland and cultivated , steppe and land lie side by side. Living under a hair tent does not mean that people devote themselves exclusively to cattle breeding. The farmers also live in tents, sometimes in this place, sometimes in that place on the usable land, and even permanent mud houses are abandoned after a while,

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134

When Ardezhir had gained control Iraq, it is said that many Arabs did not stay in his kingdom and were subject to him, Len left for Syria to join his fellow tribesmen living there. But after :id, other Arabs migrated to the Kd^^ ^ again, namely those who had burdened themselves with guilt and were accused of blood revenge17". Thus the inhabitants of Hira consisted of d- classes. Emmal the Tanuch: Arabs who lived west of the Euphrates, between Hxra and Ambar Tnmnen and tents made of hair cloth. Further, the Ibad, the e.gent inhabitants of Hira, who had settled there permanently, after the "genossen: they had joined the people of Hira but did not belong to either class that had submitted to the Ardesclnr, neither the tent-dwelling Tanuch nor the Ibad. ",,4 and

This is the content of the report. Hira lay on the border of the ^^^^J , south of the later Kufa, south of *~ Ali171 Two church complexes and ceramics with Christian signs have been found in K anden- Accordingly, the Ibad are regarded in other traditions as the gd Chtten of Hira; they formed the he Na of the city shows, it was an aramaEc . As a member of dox nesto LischenKi^ andWriting,mo^^

In addition to the Estates, there is a layer of unsteady nomads living against the ^^de Iraq. The significance of blood guilt, of which the Be Lht^

The request for revenge, the request for revenge, returns in them constantly'"^^ the area bordered the east by the Euphrates desert. The alluvial land was fertile and even vines grew in the J^umpfen176. Thus, the Tanuch are described as half-Builders™ and half-Bedouins177. They were settled, but had not yet given up the tent. When they moved to Hira itself, they became part of the urban class178. linteren The boundaries between nomads and farmers are even more fluid in the alluvial plains of lower Iraq than elsewhere. Pasture and cultivated , steppe and desertified land lie side by side. Living under a hair tent does not mean that people are exclusively to cattle breeding. Farmers also live in tents, soon on this area, soon on usable land. Even permanent mud houses are abandoned after a while,

to settle elsewhere. For this kind of life in the mountains, joining the urban bourgeoisie is the end of the line. The protectors or

Byzantines can also be found elsewhere in Arabia. They occupied an important position in pre-Islamic Mecca179. In contrast to the nobility of the Quraysh, who lived in the center of the city, in the immediate vicinity of the Kaba, they lived in the . The nobility took these uprooted people, who had entered into a protective relationship with them, as their bodyguards, especially those who were entrusted with dangerous or difficult tasks. In times of war, these Ahlaf, together with those recruited from the Bedouin tribes, formed the cadres who, together with Abyssinian slaves, made up the Achabish, the city's army (see p. 143 below). The princes of Hira may also have used their fellow protectors for similar purposes180.

The Tanukh were the actual state-forming component181. According to Arab , tribes from Najd and the Tihama migrated to Bahrain as a result of disputes and from there broke into Iraq182. Originally, they either came only from Yemen or were mixed with North Arabian components The fact that the South Arabian descent of at least part of the Tanuch is true is proven by the Sabaean inscriptions found in Hira184. According to tradition, the ruling dynasty of the city, the Lachmids, were also SuE daraber185. Even in Warka, a Himalayan tombstone has been found1853.

The Arabs probably invaded Iraq under the last Arsacids, when Parthian power was in decline186. Around 270, with Jadhima, the

"King of the Tanukh", a dominant Arab dynasty187. His name is linked to the rise of the Lachmids188, but also the tradition of a clash with the queen

Zenobia of Palmyra (p. 129 above). The Lachmid inscription from Namara in the Hauran has shown that this story of a westward advance is true (see p. 129 above). Jadhima's successor Amr lent ManichaE ism his protection against the Sasanid Narses189 , thus assuming an independent position vis-à-vis the neighboring empire. From the middle of the 5th century, Nestorian Christianity1^ became the dominant religion, as it was throughout Iraq. However, this did not preclude the Lachmids from

showing their devotion to the Kaba and the other sanctuaries of the Hejaz191. MandaE is communities also appear to have been established under the rule of the kings of Hira.
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to have stood1910. The Sasanians recognized the new state and lent it their support, both for well-considered reasons. By them with the border guard on the Euphrates, they created a bulwark against the nomads. Sasanian interests and those of Hira coincided here: once in possession of the land, the former nomads had little interest in sharing their territory with newcomers, even if they were their cousins from the desert192.
5.
In terms of art history, Hira's significance lies in the fact that it leads from the Sasanian period into the Islamic period193. Some mounds remained inhabited until the end of the 8th century. The stuccoed walls of Hira with their decorative forms, although they have their own formations, stand in the middle between Sasanian and early Habbasid development, between Ktesiphon and Samarra or Balkuwara. It is no different with the pottery. The grouping of the rooms around a central palace courtyard194 was adopted from older Sasanian buildings and

passed on to early Islamic castles such as Mshatta and Ochej- 1 dir195.
Beyond this, however, Hira introduced a new architectural form that was to be decisive for the future. When the caliph Mutawakkil had the castle of Balkuwara built for his son in the years 854-859, he on the Lachmid residence in Hira. He built, it is said196, "a building the like of which had never been seen before, known as el-Hiri and the two Al-arms and the Riwak. He got the idea from the fact that one of his friends, with whom he was chatting away the nights, told him one night that one of the of Hira, the Numanids from the house of the banu-Nasr, had a new building in his residence, namely Hira, in the shape and appearance of a war camp. For he was so dominated by the desire and passion of the warrior that the memory of it would not fade among his other activities. The Riwak was the reception room of the FuE rst. It formed the chest , and the two sleeves lay to the right and left. In the two building,
i.e. the sleeves used by those close to the prince's court. The right sleeve had a compartment for , the left one drinks. The free space to the rivak touched the chest and the two sleeves. Three gates led to the rivak "197.
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103 If one compares the plan of Balkuwara, one immediately recognizes the Riwak with the three gates, the square in front of it and the suffering arms to the right and left. The caliph's palace continues the Lachmid architecture just as clearly as the stucco decoration of Samarra or the pottery in the footsteps there

104 of the one found in Hira reads "8. The same palace complex appears inMshatta, north-east of the Dead Sea, where the three gates also recur, and in the

104 Abbasid castle from Ochejdir 199, suE dwest of Karbala. Only a single entrance replaced the three. In both cases it can be seen that certain forms were borrowed from or Iranian architecture. The connection with the stone cohort camp is particularly clear in the case of Mshatta. According to tradition, Hira was built by Persians from burnt bricks 20°. The connections between the Tak-i Kisra in Ktesiphon and 131,135,137 the FuE rstenhalle of Mshatta, the palace façade of Ochejdir, are obvious2". The explosive , too, the here between between the between the ceiling barrels are also rooted in Sasanian models202. According to this, Hira goes to an old army camp. The name itself points to this20*. It was originally an appellative. In Syriac, hirthaE or herthaE means an enclosed place, then also the tent or army camp. The city of Hirtha on the right bank of the Euphrates was a stronghold of the Palmyrenians20*. The Arabic Hatra (elHadhr) is etymologically the equivalent of the Syriac word and meant probably the same 205 Syriac authors speak of the "army camp (hirthaE) of Numan", again meaning Hira; the Byzantines also give the form THpfra206. The fact that this meaning still shines through sheds light on its origins. Hira always remained always without walls206". The Arabs' mobile army camp was originally not tied to a fixed location. This slowly changed. Jabija207, the camp of the Ghassanids, was still half built in nomadic fashion, half a permanent residence. It formed the starting point of the Arabs still before the

Decisive battle at Yarmuk. Hira finally means the complete transformation into a city.

These camp sites were a far cry from the construction methods that common in South Arabia. The Himjarites had built fortified to protect themselves against the Bedouins. At that time, Yemen became the "land of castles", as the Arab authors call it. The citadel of Ghumdan is said to have had twenty storeys, each ten cubits high, and the king and his court lived in the uppermost one. May it and the other, 138

What is still reported208 fabulous enough: they were towering buildings, not broad, sloping walls like Balkuwara, Mshatta and Ochejdir. Ghumdan was a of the that can be found today in Yemen and Hadramaut209 . This is confirmed by the depictions of houses that have survived from the Sabaean period in 108-110210, or the palaces of Aksum211: all high-rise buildings with many storeys on top of each other, a construction method that has found its most striking expression in the gigantic storey stelae of Aksum212.

The excavations in Hira have not yet yielded any evidence of the Lachmid residence. The ground plan of the much-mentioned el-Chawarnak is clear215 , but it has nothing in common with the previously discussed type. This leaves only Mshatta, Balkuwara and Ochejdir. They are of Umayyad214 and Abbasid origin, but they are able to give an idea of the lost Hira215. Hatra was older. Its origin from an army camp is also clear

from its name. The circular outline of the city points to the same connection. The oldest Baghdad216, which lay upstream on the right bank of the Tigris, Tacht-i Suleiman216a and Ktesiphon had the same layout217. 102 Ktesiphon was the winter camp

of the Parthian kings, where they lived with their court and army218. It had grown into a city219 like Hira or Jabiah. The old, round shape of the military camp, which is the basis of everything, can still be seen in smaller, but basically similar complexes that have been discovered by research into the Syrian-Mesopotamian limes220. In addition to circular enclosures with double ramparts from older times, there are also fortified circular complexes of the indigenous auxiliary troops of Rome, which appear to be the original form of Hatra. Similar structures were found in Transjordan, east of Amman221.

Just as the city had grown out of the camp, the order of the army was based on the nomadic one. The cavalry formed the core of the army. The on horseback, who made a strong contribution to the besiegers of Hatra222 , may have been drawn from the warlike Bedouins who, like the Shammar of today, camped in the area around the city223. If U5 Hatra was already a settlement in Assyrian times (p. 132 above), one could imagine its occupation by the Arab Skenitai in such a way that the phylarch of the tribe with the nobility and its immediate surroundings took up residence in the city, while the rest outside continued the nomadic life . It was a similar situation in pre-Islamic Mecca, when the Koreish were

They living Originally they lived, as an Arabic source says, "in the bottom of wild ravines, in the midst of naked mountains that surrounded the holy land. "224 Then they invaded Mecca and took control of the Kaba. From then on, their nobility settled in the center of the city, in the batha that surrounded the sanctuary. The less prestigious clans of the tribe lived in the suburbs

or continued to nomadize in the surrounding area. They supplied the city with some of their soldiers, the Achabish (see p. 143 below). The Tanuch of Hira will also have provided an excellent nomadic cavalry2240. This is shown by the fact that the saE ttel225 made in Hira were famous. The Safaitic rock paintings show horsemen armed with long spears226. Sometimes they stand in single combat; elsewhere they are supported by foot soldiers with shields and spears227. There was a divine "protector of the people", by which was probably meant the people of war; the god was common to Safaites and Nabataeans228. In the SpaE troE mish army, there was a division that was recruited from Thamudenes on horseback (equites Saraceni Thamudeni)229. So here too, the core of the army consisted of horsemen. In addition, rock carvings230 , partly linked to Nabataean and Thamudic inscriptions, testify that the dromedary was also ridden. Whether it was used in battle is not clear here or in the rock paintings of Transjordan231 . But other evidence certainly to this. Riding the

dromedary in northern Mesopotamia is as old as riding in general232. The dromedary appears for the first time on the rock paintings of Demir 164 Kapu233; it is depicted riding on an orthostat of Part Halaf. This takes back to the time when horse riding first appeared in the ancient Orient. The dromedary rider from the Halaf region is related to the depictions of horsemen found there, but also in Marash, Sendschirli, Karkemish and the Ahmar region234. We reach as far as the end of the 2nd millennium BC. That the riding of the horse and the dromedary were part of a single movement (with the use of the horse presumably providing the model) is confirmed by their mutual use in war234a. On a small

relief from Part Halaf235 depicts a dromedary rider with a helmet, armoured shirt, small round shield and long sword, i.e. the armament that characterized the Arabs in the army of Seleucid Antiochus III. In the battle of Magnesia, the Romans were confronted by Arab archers sitting on dromedaries and armed with narrow, four cubit long swords, which they used to stab down from the backs of their animals236.

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Towards the end of the 2nd century AD, all western tribes from upper Iraq down to the Nile cataracts used the dromedary on their war trains236a. The only change was that the long sword was replaced by a new weapon. Once again, the cavalry tactics were adapted. The last Parthian king led a corps of dromedary horsemen237 against Caracalla, alongside mounted guards and cataphracts: they used long lances to lead their thrusts against the enemy238. It is not known, but it can be assumed that these were Arabs from the desert or from northern Mesopotamia. Arabs with dromedaries were also the opponents of the Sasanid Shapur I, as one of his rock reliefs shows239. A later king of the same house, Bahram V. Gor, who was educated by the Arabs in Hira240, had himself depicted as a camel rider. He shoots at his prey with a bow 107 while a lute or harp player sits on the croup of the mount241. Hira was also the home of the highly prized dark-colored dromedaries: the color of black plums, which the Arab poets sing about242. One will have to imagine them after the black or blackish animals whose possession is a peculiarity of today's Ateiba and Harb Bedouins243.

One of the reliefs from the pteron ceiling of the Temple of the Baal inPalmyra244 shows a 161 dromedary an , multi-storey structure. The entourage consists of a group of enveloped women. The depiction was previously . Terracottas from Syria show two goddesses245 or even a float and a tambourine player together246 on the backs of dromedaries. These depictions have long been reminiscent of the custom of the kobba247 , which has existed from Arab antiquity to the present day. When it to battle, especially a decisive battle, a girl from the tribe is placed in a high pavilion-like saddle decorated with ostrich feathers. Surrounded by the 169-170 women of the tribe, she is into battle on the dromedary as a living emblem. She carries the warriors away with her songs, by unleashing her virginal , with her banners and, if necessary, with her mockery248; nothing

is more shameful than letting the kobba fall into the hands of the enemy249. Aisha, the
"Mother of the ", rode ahead of the ranks of her own in the "Battle of the Dromedary" in such a way250. An older custom also appears. According to this, it was not a girl of the tribe who sat in the kobba, but its shrine, a bait or baitylos251. In other words, a sacred stone that was believed to be the "house of the
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God", the tribal god252. The bait was by a tent or precious fabrics253 , like the black stone of the Kaba today. Dromedary and bait were by close ties. This is shown by the fact that the dromedary god Dusares (below p.149) was also worshipped as Baitylos in Petra254. As in the Palmyrene relief, the animal that carried the sacred burden was carried by a

Man led255. But the actual followers were the women of the tribe. They went with them, as is explicitly stated256 , into battle, but also in ceremonial ceremonies257. Many years after the Hejrah, comrades of the prophet still remembered their female ancestors who had been the wives of such an idol in the times of paganism258. The accounts of the great travelers to Arabia in the 19th and early 20th provide further insight. On the peninsula, the Al ltestes persisted with astonishing tenacity. The contingent of the kings of Hira and Hatra may not have looked much different (if one disregards motorized combat259 and firearms) from that of the rulers of Hail and their opponents in Riyadh260.
In these armies, the Bedouins were encountered first. Among them, the that were closer to the urban centers or were obligated to the ruler provided more troops than the border tribes, which of limited reliability. Most of them rode on dromedaries; only the 168,172-173 sheikhs sometimes had horses. The long riding lance, comparable to the contus, was still used, which the dromedary riders in the Parthian army (top p. 141), but also the SabaEers (bottom p. 168) and Blemyer (bottom p. 163) . A second troop appears next to it, again on horseback. It was not recruited from the nomads, but from the tribes and inhabitants of the villages. In contrast to the Bedouins, who were primarily driven by the hope of loot, these were to the cohesion of a bourgeois or peasant life. They listened to orders and were able to form a cohesive force. Like the Bedouins, the Dromedaries also rode on dromedaries. For horses were as rare in Arabia today as they were in the past261 . The armed forces of the pre-Islamic Mecca, the same to

The Achabish, with the exception of the commanders, sat on dromedaries262. But C. M. Doughty reports that Ibn Reschid of Hail distributed horses from his own stables to reliable men. This troop ensured him the same superiority as the Ghassanids had previously enjoyed when they opposed the nomadic dromedary riders with their cavalry263.
142

The FuE rst also supplied weapons to some of his troops. They were only issued in the event of an emergency; otherwise they were stored in their own arsenals Such an arsenal or magazine is documented as a place name in the area of Hira. The bodyguard was made up entirely of purchased slaves or exiles and wards. Their reliability could always be relied upon. The army in pre-Islamic Mecca was also made up of these components266 , as were the bodyguards of the
"Hassanidic and Lachmidian princes267. At the head of their warriors, i.e. in the vanguard, rode, today as in the past, the rulers themselves26". Distinguished by their horses and weapons: Chain or 'David's armor26', swords from Bostra, which were passed down from generation to generation276, forerunners of the highly famous Damascus blades.
The army organization of pre-Islamic Mecca271 is closer in time to the of antiquity than the rulers of modern-day Najd. Admittedly, it some special features. The city's mercenaries, the famous Achabish, were only called up in moments of danger. This army, consisting entirely of foreigners, would posed a constant threat the wealth of the city and its great merchants from the Koreish tribe if it remained together permanently272. The main mass of the Achabian was composed of purchased

Abyssinian slaves, who were known for their , devotion and bravery273^ The name AhaE bU already this component: it together with HabaS, OhbuoE274. Only the charges275 were occupied by Arabs: from the Bedouin , above all outcasts, exiles, , who possessed their own sense of honor and had a reputation for wild audacity276. The Korean merchants and entrepreneurs equipped this troop with weapons from their own armories, some of which contained considerable stocks277. Just as the Achabish were released after a successful battle, they also had to return their equipment to their clients and paymasters278.
This force us to a new area: the great trading and caravan cities of the Arab world. They also had a lasting influence on the development of the army.

6.
The Arab limes was not only a border barrier for the Roman Empire in the east. It was also a transit zone the caravan routes that broke through the limes and whose traces lead far into the desert. They created the connection with the trading centers of Iraq and the Persian Gulf, as well as with those of the Arabian Peninsula.
These roads have left little trace in the ground279. The watchtowers, towers and water points that accompanied their course have been abandoned and lie buried under sand or dust. Until now, they could only be recognized where the route ran through the

basaltic harra or through steppe areas covered with sharp flint chips280. These obstacles, disadvantageous for the soft soles of the dromedaries, had been cleared away and the roadsides on both sides in long rows. Where such features were missing, the road remained unrecognizable. Only the

aerial survey from the airplane further. It made it possible to survey a larger area and thus also to identify the caravan roads a long distance.
A large number of such roads have become known as a result. From the starting points of the caravan trade in the Roman area, such as Damascus or Bostra, they led281 to el-Jof, the old Dumatha282. Or they sought to reach the same destination from Emesa either via Burku283 or via the Jebel Aneze284. From Damascus285, but above all from Pal2-153 myra286 , other caravan routes ran via Hit to Vologesias or Vologesokerta on the Euphrates, which was destined to supplant the Greek Seleukeia in its importance as a trading center287. Or they went in the direction of the Persian Gulf to Spasinu Charax, on the site of today's Mohammera, and to Forat, near Basra288. Another connection led from Palmyra to Dura on the Euphrates and then the river289. This was the route taken by the Arab and Indian goods to Palmyra, which are mentioned in the famous tax tariff of 137 AD290. The Tigris also proved to be a convenient connection. Along it ran the road from Seleukeia-Ktesiphon to Hatra, where it forked to Palmyra or to Singara and Nisibis. Some routes, such as the one between Palmyra and Dura, were set up for a fast connection. The dromedary riders covered this distance in 2-2 days.

back, taking half the time of a caravan291. Such an express mail, which could be

with the ancient Persian words aE m 4^2 2, returns in our oldest Syrian document from the year 243 AD. In addition to the roads radiating from the Persian Gulf, others continued to exist in undiminished importance, the starting point of which was the ancient SabaE reach. The delights and treasures of Sue from there continued on their way across the Hejaz to Ailana29* on the Gulf of Aqaba. From there, they were smuggled to Pelusion or Gaza, passing through no less than 65 stations from the Gebbaniten SuE darabxens to Gaza. The costs amounted to 688 denarii the drome darlast, which may have meant 3000 RM2". Like armies, the well-traveled caravans of fromLeukeKome on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, to the capital of the Nabat-
of the Persian Gulf, a rich river flowed from Yemen299. Dxe caravans
The caravans traveled by land or by ship up the Euphrates to Thapsakos De" intermediate trade with the goods of India - and the Arabxa Felxx was the reason for the wealth of the caravan , which were located at the hubs of d traffic. We have yet to speak of Palmyra, this ^onxgxn de WuE ste"-, of whose greatness the splendor of its ruins testified ras BluE fe Hegi before the 2nd and 2nd centuries.
3rd century, while the emergence of Mecca originally a station on the Incense Road8-, the first Byzantine text. But Hira may have become the great ^f^^^ early on, to which its fertile surroundings and sexual location enabled it to become.

^did not only trade with the foreign and their own^o^^se^ Ibad, the bankers gave away for the Bedouins of the neighborhood ahn h as the Quraysh did in Mecca808. The

The city's coE nxes accumulated wealth through the taxes with which they burdened trade As early as the beginning of the 4th century, the Lachmxds reached as far west as the Marches of Syria to seize the profits from trade
The caravan city of the 3rd century, Hatra, in particular, provided the , often comprising hundreds of animals, marching and encamping8 in a fixed order, up and down the Tigris, with the need for a place that would provide them temporary shelter. There they could lay down their goods or profits, replenish their supplies before setting off on a new journey. Hatra offered this hexhex.
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As everywhere else, the kings provided protection for the roads in their territory 111-121 and paid taxes from those passing through. In the middle of the 123,160 fortified city was the caravan court, which peace and shelter.
Its dimensions are enormous: two cavalry regiments312 in marching formation took up less than a quarter of the whole. It was located in the immediate vicinity of the royal palace, whose iwans looked eastwards towards the hustle and bustle of this trading and transshipment center. The next station was on the Tigris; to the south of ancient Assur a caravanserai from the Sasanian period came to light313.
The wide trade relations of the Koreish, the that flowed from all sides into pre-Islamic Mecca, have been described as a prerequisite for the founding of the Arab world empire and the Arab world religion314. The from the West and East met in Hatra, similar as in a other

caravan city315 in the neighborhood, in Dura. In Hatra's palace, the SaE ule and architrave stand next to the Arabian Ivan, which can also be seen in Assur, in Herod's palace at Masada and in the Kuh-i . Ancient masks are found alongside the bull protomes, which are reminiscent of Achaemenid images317. Artemis with the crescent moon318 appears among the images of the gods, but the Arabic 127-129 moon goddess known from neighboring Karrhai319 is concealed under a Greek form. The temple next to the palace was dedicated to the sun god320, i.e. a Baal; but this was depicted in Greek forms above the toppling of his house321. If excavations are ever carried out in Hatra, the image will probably shimmer in even richer colors.
Gerrha seems to have represented a different type. Founded by Chaldean refugees from Babylon322, the city developed into a market where the Bedouins conducted their barter trade323. Transit traffic soon followed. The GerrhaEers traded in Arab goods and spices324 as far as Petra325, where they also competed with the SabaEers in the incense trade326.
The location of the city327 was always disputed. Since its site was found in the ruins of Abu Zahmul near Okair, on the coast of the Hasa328 , the

difficulties seem to been clarified. Abu Zahmul lies inland on a later silted-up bosom329. Thus one understands how it could be said that the city lies on a sea gulf and about 200 stadia from the coast330; how Gerrha could be said to be the city of transshipment traffic.
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water and the GerrhaE er as such, who mostly carried out their trade on land331. There is evidence here from various periods. The fact that the city stood on salty ground, that houses332 and towers were built of salt ashlars, is also consistent with its location on what was once the seabed.
Here, too, no excavation has been carried out, not even a survey. Nevertheless, among the ruins that cover the field of Abu Zahmul, streets and the ground plans of larger buildings can be distinguished. There are also remains of city walls on the land and sea sides. The overall impression is that a former port city, which was a transshipment point for trade with India, has been gradually transformed. More fortunate competitors such as Spasinu Charax"" and Forat at the mouth of the Schutt el-Arab or Ormuz "* on the northern coast of the Persian Gulf emerged. In addition, the bay of Gerrha silted up, so that finally only the outpost of Gabba "*, which still existed alongside the younger Spasinu Charax, may have been responsible for maritime trade. Gerrha itself to the caravan haudel, which carried the goods of SuE darabia to the Mesopotamian border or
to Petra. . A picture of the culture around the Persian Gulf - Ormnz, Spasmu Charax and Mesene, Gerrha - is obtained from the Christian catacombs found on the island of Charg, opposite Buschir. According to the Chronicle of Arbela, "Christianity had penetrated as far as Bahrain and opposite mainland of Arabia". Hajjar is mentioned among the Bishmaars and was perhaps the same as Gerrha
. The catacombs, the front of which is decorated with niches and masks, belong to the 3rd century AD"". Similar complexes from the same period can be found in Petra"', Medain

Salch"" and in Palmyra"'. There are also similarities between the tombs of Dura and Bahrain. This makes it clear that the caravan cities in the north and south were linked by a similar architectural style.
From the caravan towns and roads we come to the caravans themselves. It must be said that their transportation required more than ordinary skill. Knowledge of the pastures and water points, the tracks and landmarks was an prerequisite. But none of this was enough. Everywhere, possessions and lives were by the abundance of raiding tribes. The position of Palmyra or Hatra between Rome and the partners
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required extreme caution342. It is easy to understand why the Palmyrenes erected statues to their successful caravan leaders, synhodiarchs343. They tried to buy the safety of passage with high taxes344. But even then there was no certainty given the unreliability and fickleness of the Bedouins345. It is understandable that a Spanish historian stated that it was best to have

these fellows neither for nor against them346. The merchants of Mecca were no less unabashed347. But even the Sasanids and the of Hira had to make themselves comfortable enough to enter into negotiations with the chiefs of the desert tribes348. Bedouins sometimes seized travelers on the road between Arbela and Ctesiphon and took them captive349.

But negotiations and payments alone were not enough. Precautions of a military nature also had to be taken. In order to counter the attacks on the caravans

in the Syrian and Mesopotamian border regions, the

"outer limes" of the actual border barrier350. Found between Hauran and the Euphrates351 , it probably extended as far as the Tigris352. A series of Palmyrene posts stretched along the "King's Road "353 down the Euphrates to Anatha (see p. 127 above), and the caravan route from Palmyra through the desert to Hit was particularly carefully protected354. The postings there were probably established when the Parthian Empire collapsed. At that time, the route to Spasinu Charax and Forat was threatened by the Sasanids' new striving for power. Ardezhir had already taken control of the kingdom there in 226355 ; the Persians were to take control of all trade to India356. The guarding of the "outer limes" was entrusted to nomadic tribes, 105-106 who were obliged to make payments. Rock carvings, but also inscriptions of such an troop, in the Safai dialect, have been found in the Jebel Tenf357 . There is a dedication of a Nabataean horseman who served successively in the garrisons of Hirtha and Ana Anatha) on the Euphrates on behalf of the Palmyrenians358. There was also a 162 mobile troop, up of on horseback, which ensured the safety of the roads and served as cover for the caravans359. They were subordinate to the highest magistrate in Palmyra, the strategist. Inscriptions of such strategists, from the times of Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus, show that they were entrusted with securing peace and taking measures for the defense of the city.

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f. *at were360 We will still these Palmyrene against the nomads^^^^ .

Early ontroops within the Roman ^ * &n their borders against the

NabataE he aE similar detachments at n^^^", like the Chronicle of Arbela reports . In places lost in the field

who had to guard the city" >moblle* " caravan trade365. In Wandt364-

They also served ^ ^^^ nobly and this city knew how to handle the

man close to the court like the gnostic m weapon with mastery>^ the

troop on horseback a

With NabataE ern as with Palmyrene 366a and lance out- 166

those of dromedary riders366. They were equipped with ^upPenpanz r

rouE stet; hanging from the saddle the ^^^^.^^^^ army of the 175 returns

with the SabaE ish dromedary riders. Au^

East decided a 1^Jg^£ ^Lier warl mostly the gravestone of such a soldier

geliefcit ^^

the MuE ^tn Palmyra, Edessa and

hnnderts were built according to the model of the oiuicn , ; Upper Egypt of others. Aneb in the East Jordananknde ^^. (bottom p. 160) stood dromedary riders; a post was advanced Hedschas3". . r^™ Zenobia on a
The following period believed that Aurelian had caught ^
^ Dromedary and thus "^Wj^*^^ myra and dromedary were ideas d,c mch ™TMbe;den aie Gstter mögen man^ nicht o^! als Dromedar- 167 weitere Bezeichnung des syrischenDromedargottes . sich die Menasampnllen mit dem Bild des Helgenzw "rg g^ Dromedare3". The one from Inner Arabia3" Dusarestag "o" of Petra was3" consecrated in the it^chen P-- g^ es dare3". In Selenkeia, also an emer city of the Kara

a god who was depicted on the dromedary ah Waff>JJ bow3". The equestrian saint of the DonaulaE nder possessed his counterpart. Both the equestrian and dromedary gods appeared to be connected in the east380.
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The Arabs are more than warriors, says Strabon381. But they developed warlike forms of their own kind out of their hagdom. They were distinctly equestrian forms, the same that grew out of their nomadic life.

V THE NORTH AFRICAN DROMEDARY NOMADS 750
Niederiage, the ^*^TZ^™^ * d"^ This clever and purposeful ^ ^ ^ ^ KuE 6te]istraße,
from Tripoli, expected^ *^
the from Carthage suE dwaE rts, "^"T^X. gewaE Mt. the center the Moors had a" , a; hex Weiher, children and all, d.eam ^" they were dureh they also contained the belongings of the nomads ^ ^ ^ ^

a living wall of "^^t^ limbs stood deep. The of the front was reinforced so thatarmed, were between the
Warriors themselves, mrt Shdd and W". ;t ;hreI1 shot. Dromedaries distributed and "^^J* to familiarize themselves with their The nomads' way of life is to live together with the Pj™TM^^*^ science. Solehe knows sex eme poße J aus> um alle GewoE hn
still say today; barely smelled^ M^^Moors of the Kabaon
was on the ui
essence of the dromedary developed. la5sian witness of years of

"The camel," says C. M. Dougthy em clas ^^^Mr. WuE stenerfahrung', "st em stumpfes ^ that it has hruE llend m itself. If this spurs it on, it can ^^at d
ntitten of the KU^j'"^inl hoeken, while it is very fast ZuE gel, it will to flee screaming galloping with their riders. Some again smd necksta ^"J, camel will run with le.ch
nritten among the enemy, and^ ^AI ,,,, That's why the most valuable cattle horses were renounced.
the Moors were keflt to use their dromedaries as™ : the shy. The had no intention of using their dromedaries as a deterrent against the unfamiliar appearance of the horse ^^^ hschen Heiter b^htenih.e Iren die Oermanen nicht medaren vorgehen5. And aui
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ruled6. They succumbed to the Moors' spears; Byzantium was astonished by this defeat7.

The tactics that had proved successful against the Vandals were subsequently by the desert tribes. The Byzantines had also used dromedaries against such walls.

to fight8. In the meantime, the line-up had become denser: there were now rows of animals on all sides9. Cattle and small livestock were added to reinforce the mass10. But the enemy had also learned: he had the riders dismount from their skittish horses. Attacking on foot, they broke into the circle and caused bloody carnage among the densely packed crowd11. Nevertheless, the Moors remained true to their traditional fighting style. The Arab historian Ibn Chaldun12 still describes them in the 14th century; he uses the same word "wreath" or "circle" that Prokop13 used to describe the Moorish formation.

In the times of Trasamund and Kabaon, nomadic tactics were something new. Never before had dromedaries been used to defeat a cavalry army. The animal gained a hitherto unknown significance and communicated it to the tribes, who on the dromedary not only for military but also for economic purposes, using it for migrations and raids. Ancient historians only reported on these nomads when they clashed with the Vandalic or Byzantine powers. The tribes under the leadership of Kabaon nomadized in the vicinity of Tripoli, not far from the coast. So they had from agriculture to pastoralism: with the advance of the dromedary nomads, the steppe and Sahara were pushed against the cultivated land, while the latter retreated or shrank to the same extent ...14 But the home of the tribes was not on the , not in the vicinity of the old urban centers. Hundreds of rock carvings scattered across the Fezzan and its neighboring areas15 tell us that the Dromedary nomads did not themselves to the north of Tripolitania . On the contrary: their

The main focus must have been in the South, in the steppe and desert regions.

These rock carvings always show the same in schematic outline: warriors on foot and on horseback, with round or square shields, armed with javelins or the long horseman's lance. Next to them, large and small livestock, grazing or wandering in herds. But first and foremost
154
We^l^oibe" hard D-W The WO* is
Meat, milk and wool, riding horses and pack horses " your. berste, often the only means to ease the-eh™ living conditions. Raiders, warriors
r:-Tn also
the stronger it has in sight. Auel> today e ^^hardly changes. Only the E "b*^g££J£ of the Oeman see from the passing. The ^
Single combat under the toughest conditions is the rule,
Death
The female the "^^ZTSbM of the man. She does Here one grasps the extent to which the trau aas m seems to. it into an area that is entirely feminine in that she makes the man " "
"fighting and, if you like, heroic type. " ' *^ combat of a special kind. He is certainly ready for action, daringJ°dJ funny. He is capable of carrying out even the most difficult tasks. Type, on robbery and property, on fighting for women and personal honor.
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proves to be thoroughly individualistic. He is far removed from the obedient and disciplined soldier of the Roman kind, who, renouncing personal drives and advantages, submits solely to the dictates of the state.

submits20. He also differs from the hero of Germanic , whose greatness arises from the tragic confrontation with fate (p. 113f. above). However, the Hamitic hero is not only individualistic: he an anarchic trait. Stepping out of the bonds of an existence determined by clan and family, an unbound warrior and adventurer's life is one of the defining . And again, it is the woman who pushes him into these paths.

Here, too, today's dromedary nomads can be used for comparison . The unchangeable nature of the people and living conditions imposes the same way of life on the Hamitic tribes nomadizing on the northern edge of the Sahara today as in the past.

The position of the woman21 is decisive for the social structure. The man not only has to for her property: she also forms the center of the house. There is nothing of the role of the pater familias here: the woman chooses the man, who enters the family circle from outside, as it were. But this is formed by the woman's relatives; and cousins are her than the man. The children who join the family are not considered to be those of the father, but of the mother. In the female line, the descent and the connection of the sexes is lost. Accordingly, the work in the home is exclusively the woman's responsibility, especially the building of tents and , while the man is to hunting and war. The hunted game belongs to the man, the tent cover to the woman who has made it at home. In such a way that the women work

and property within the house, and indeed its entire domain, is entrusted to them the same exclusivity with which the activity of men only begins at the boundaries of this domain. The woman has the same independence as the man. Thus

can be united with the ancient news. Cyria22, the sister of the Moorish king Firmus, was loyal to her brother. Everything she was able to do with her wealth and energy benefited him. She rallied numerous tribes against the Romans who oppressed him and forced the enemy to . Cyria did not her possessions and the power of her personality for her husband, who played no role, but only for her brother, a blood relative and member of her own family.

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the camp with women and children, not "", like df^KAI "SS':: they also beat the 8self-understanding heb the^ pfed
camp and the tents, the women took care of these animals, oracle consultations went to the ^^^^K'AIthe women were allowed to make prophecies. erteflen Wiedel are ^ separated. The authoritative directives are received in the "PP ^ lamb's mouth and then^ reminds you that among the Tuareg only the women of the scripture, the Tifinagh, For this very*-mfa£ of their own and inner use to have been recorded Wherever one looks, everywhere the same^ D "* man from the inner circle of their existence, ^edge, read to the outside; ^ ^ ^igem Daseinsaber auch zum Abenteurer made.As such Lgnisreiche and power struggle against his peers but the ^ gbindings.
The life he leads is in ^^AI^ on the next and lawless; it lacks a higher sense it >s all this
"and the most urgent needs, The correspondence
provides the religion. n\rht29 Even where
ReligioE se emotion today's 8*""^ the image they know a religion like the harn ^XZ^^^t^n and not at all. They regard it only as S "mm^a" G8tter. and

formulas; they are ^^^1^2^ "> Tuareg as a force of fate,.sche Schiiftsteller be
religionless. The magic with and national
The behavior of the Hamitic nomads is determined by the actions of the Hamitic nomads: they reject the " ^
Everything is geared towards this matter. you have got hold of them, satisfaction and faith eh. according to which the Moors have no Once again, let us remember the Woit of the rroKop

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knew the fear of God30. Kabaon himself is said to said that he did not know the Christian God, but if he was as strong as he was said to be, he would punish his betrayers and protect his worshippers31. His behavior was based on this. It was an opportunism towards the divine world, geared towards the relationship of do ut des. The news about the Blemmyers, who

will be discussed shortly, provides even more information (see p. 161 f. below). They had the same gods as the Greeks, plus Isis and Osiris, not least Priapos32. They worshipped Isis in the sanctuary of Philai on the first cataract of the Nile. Diocletian had granted them this33, and the Christian emperors did not initially dare to revoke their privilege34. Only Justinian abolished it. At certain times, the Blemmyers brought the image of Isis to the opposite bank of the Nile and received prophecies from it35. The female deity was reserved for giving oracles, as were the women of the Moors. A human sacrifice to the sun god is also mentioned36, as was customary in neighboring Meroe37. The Blemmy people had gathered their gods from further afield. Accordingly, their petroglyphs also show Egyptian altars38 and the Egyptian god Min39. The inscription of the Nubian king Silko

from the second half of the 6th century AD describes the Blemmy people as pagans: they swore by their gods40. And yet the rock carvings of the tribe also include symbols of Christian origin41. It was the same equality of origin and type of faith that was expressed in the words of Kabaon. It was enough that it was effective. We have repeatedly encountered similar phenomena among the nomads. Of course, it would be a if one were to take the word of the lack of religion of the desert , which is found in the Greek and Arab historians, literally. The equality only concerned the content of the religion; all the more strongly, however, is what one call the form: the religious attitude and the acts in which this is . Just as shamanism allowed its followers to turn to Christianity or Buddhism, to the faith of Mani or Mohammed, but nevertheless held on to its own forms and practices (see p. 69 f. above), so it was here too. The basic attitude of the Hamites remained magic - real magic, not what is often described as such. In other words, the will to gain and power, not least over the gods, by forcing them to act in accordance with one's own intentions.

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When Kabaon ordered his people worship the Christian god, he "allowed" them to the cause of the Moors against the Vandals. The attitude remained the same towards Isis, whose cuWnld was brought into their own possession for a time and thus granted the O.akel I Jang 4\ as towards Islam. It too was seen as the source of many

Sl^^ 2±

an event that fits into the framework of those discussed so far. It was similar to the rise of the equestrian style among Iranians, Germanic Arabs and rChWerHang. B^^^^J^^^^ a masterly and heroic existence unfolded, which based on the ^-J**. Hard work and dedication, single combat and the joy of ^eu^ mobile and independent existence gained a new status, albeit in different forms.

The invaded the coastal regions of North Africa. ^

Wandal era". The victories over the degenerate descendants

gained the state of eastern Manretania in its entirety and 8*'?® up to the

other provinces, which were once red and white, to occupy S:e harbor cities, which, overburdened by the walls of their moors, have been the outer skin wall to form a whale!

had understood understood, the nomadic to keep the nomadic tribes away; sre

the borders of Libya, it is said" Damrt asks sreh^e questions^ these dromedary nomads are only at the Wandalenze-t, only rm 5^6. entered the historical world? Or do they also belong cerTainly with other phenomena to which they are essentially connected.

2.

The dromedary dominates the North African landscape and the ^n-mse its inhabitants to such an extent that it is difficult to imagine it without can. Before modern transportation takes a back seat

human existence in these landscapes from the Trer S^J^ ngen. And yet there have been times when North Africa has been without the dromedary.

make do had to make do. This realization has the great African explorer Hemnch Barth

was pronounced for the first time; it has only been confirmed since then. When the Romans entered Africa, they found the dromedary still "f*™**^ the news, however, that they first saw the animal in the army of M.thndates

had gotten to know49. This is because they were Bactrian camels, not the dromedary. This is first in Caesar's African campaign. Among the booty taken from King Juba of Mauritania were 22 animals50. Despite their small number, they are , a testimony to their rarity at the time. Only in Egypt was it different. There, the dromedary had been around since early Paleolithic times51 and quickly gained importance as a work and pack animal52 .

Towards the end of antiquity, the picture changed completely. When the Comes Africae Romanus53 was approached for help by the distressed citizens of Lepcis Magna in 363, he was able to demand that they provide him with no less than 4000 pack dromedaries54. The city had come into possession of large herds through the caravan trade. It was located at at the starting point of the desert road5S, which, presumably via the Jebel es-Soda, directly to Garama (Jerma56) and into the Fezzan. The camel nomads used the dromedary primarily as a mount. We hear of its peculiar use57; of the fact that the women who

knew how to wait on the animals58 and even let themselves be carried by them. The image of captured Berber women crouching on their dromedaries, their foreheads covered with taE and their newborns on their breasts, was not missed by the poet Corippus59. Above all, however, we hear that the animal was ridden like a horse in war60. The Mazicians61 and the Urcillians62 are mentioned as tribes where this use was towards the end of the 4th century63.

Dromedary riders also suddenly appear in the Roman occupying army of Egypt. At the end of the 4th , there were no fewer than three divisions in the Thebaid. Two of them bore a designation that refers to the formation of the troops under Diocletian and the Tetrarchy64. A military writer of the time65 mentions dromedary riders among the foreign auxiliaries of the army. They appear together with Palmyrenes, but also with GaE tulians, a tribe belonged to the African dromedary nomads. Individual dromedarii had already been attached to Roman troops in Egypt in the past66. However, they only appeared there as a separate branch of arms in closed detachments from the time of Diocletian. It is still possible to determine the reason that to this new formation. In 295, Diocletian assembled a huge force of troops to defeat the of the Egyptian uprising. Marching divisions of the battle-armed Danube

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legions, cavalry and also a camel troop were camped in the towns and villages of the Nile67. The 'imperial camels' were stationed in Elephantme , on the upper reaches of the river. Here the empire clashed with the Blemmy and Nobate tribes, to whom the emperor had granted the border area of the Dodekashoinos, above the city of Syene.

(Aswan) on the Nile69 . He allowed them to use the sanctuary of Philai and also agreed to pay annual fees70.

At that time, the two squadrons must been created by dromedary riders, whose names to Diocletian. Based in Upper Egypt, they were responsible for border protection against the two desert . The troop was one of the institutions through which the emperor sought to restore order on the threatened border. In the course of the 4th century, it was reinforced by a further squadron71. The founders of this order, Blemmyer and Nobates, lived on the right and left of the Nile. In Augustan times, they and their neighboring tribes had given up their supremacy72. They were neither numerous nor and lived as nomads; three squadrons, not even a full one73 , were sufficient to keep watch over them. The necropolis of the Nubian Karanog attests to their presence since the Ii century A.D.74 They participated in the forms of Meroitic culture, but remained a people of cattle herders. Their weaponry consisted of light throwing weapons and barbed arrows748. In the following centuries, too, there is no mention of raiding and warfare. The novel by Heliodorus, written in the thirties of the 3rd century, describes the Blemmy people as obedient subjects of the king of Meroe75. Around the middle of the same century, the situation changed. The desert tribes began to attack both Meroe and the Roman border.

Meroe, situated not far from the mouth of the Atbara into the Nile76 , had become the capital of Ethiopia since the beginning of the PtolemaEc period. The older Napate was slowly into the background. The neighborhood of the Ptolemaic

Egypt led to a strong interpenetration with Hellenistic cultural assets, with armed conflicts between the two having a marital rather than a restraining effect. Even under rule, Egypt's connection with Meroe remained close.

Since Augustus refrained from his supremacy, the understanding between the two powers was no longer seriously .
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The second half of the first century and the second century saw the greatest economic boom in Meroe77. The ruins of the capital, but also the temples, castles and , whether in the immediate of Meroe itself or in Lower Nubia (Kerma, Karanog and Faras), bear witness to the prosperity of ancient Ethiopia. Since the end of the
The decline began in the 2nd century. The empire was less and less able to itself, and without its support, Meroe was only able to hold its own against its dangerous neighbors with great difficulty. The economic prosperity . When King Ezana of Aksum undertook his campaign against the black (i.e. southern) Nobates78 to help Meroe, he saved a city that was only a shadow of its former importance.
Shortly before the middle of the 3rd century, the Nubian cities of Karanog, Begrash and Jebel Adda surrounded themselves with solid walls 78a. This indicates a change in the situation in the border area. A little later, under the emperor Decius, the Blemmyans and their neighbors attacked the Egyptian border for the first time79. Under his successor Trebonianus Gallus, Meroe seems to have sought an alliance with Rome against the tribes80 and soon the Blemmyans made the desert roads between the Nile and the Red Sea unsafe. They supported the rebel Firmus, who had declared himself a partisan.

of the Palmyrenes against Aurelian81. The connection with the Blemmyans and Palmyrenes, who were based in Dendera and Coptos in Upper Egypt82 , enabled Firmus to disembark merchant ships and have them sail to India. Since the fall of the Younger Han in 220 and the collapse of the Chinese policy of expansion in the Tarim Basin (see p. 60 above), the overland silk trade had declined considerably83 . The Palmyrenians were in it, as the finds of Han-era silk fabrics in the city's tombs show84. These old merchants now turned their attention more the sea route, which started from the Red Sea. Here their Far East trade is attested by an inscription85.
The interests of caravan trade and Far Eastern shipping converged here, as in South Arabia (pp. 123 f. above) and the Persian Gulf (pp. 146 f. above). Under the emperor Probus, the Blemmyans were so powerful that they occupied Coptos and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt86. Diocletian's measures brought only temporary improvement. Even under him, the could not be deterred from raiding Roman territory, despite the annual sums, and in the following centuries the plague of Blemmy increased steadily87.
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Why the nomadic tribes so aggressive? Once they were not very battle, held in check by a small force of troops, they had dangerous neighbors. Could it have been the dromedary that them increased fighting power and them to make world-reaching raids? If so, the Blemmyers were the first African dromedary nomads known.

The fact that the Romans used dromedary riders against them supports this assumption. As temporary masters of the

Caravan routes to the Red Sea, as allies of the Palmyrenes, the Blemmyers had to make the acquaintance of the dromedary, if they did not already have them. And it was precisely in the Arab-Syrian borderlands and desert oases dromedary warfare had been common as a military force from time immemorial (see p 140H above). For once the "great inscription" of Ezana of Aksum (bottom p. 168) mentions dromedary riders among the "Noba". These are to be equated with the Nobates, just as their neighbors, the Bega, who were likewise given power by the king, are to be equated with the "Blemmyans". The inscription belongs to "4th century" and tells of how, during the campaign against the southern Noba, two enemy invaders came to the Aksumite camp on dromedaries "to spy". Then, east of Coptos, the starting point of the Handeis tribes from the Nile to the Red Sea, under Cairo Probus m the Blemmy Hand, and further up the Nile to the height of Syene, rock carvings of this tribe have been found". These accounts are also found west of the Nile, in the "land of the Nobates" and finally in the "Nubian ". 176,178 They give a vivid picture of the fighting style of the desert tribes and their weaponry: lance, bow, sword and the rectangular or oval narrow shield. A rock painting depicts the battle of two warriors"; one remembers that "the battles of the Blemmyers described as heroic individual battles in the Homeric way in the early Byzantine prize poems". Ships with triangular or quadrangular sails and oars are also depicted - real seagoing vessels, with the 179 overseas ventures of Firmus "themselves for comparison". The bulk of the drawings, however, depict dromedaries

as well as mounted men on horseback or on dromedaries, from which they fight with their long lances. The property markers, which are becoming more numerous, continue to appear.
These depictions show what was previously sought. The Blemmyers were
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indeed dromedary nomads; they had been since their first appearance on the Upper Egyptian border102.
3.
The southern border of Roman Africa was formed by the Limes. It not only marked a military dividing line: it also separated two areas geographically. Perhaps most clearly at the edge of the three central provinces: Mauretania Caesariensis, Numidia and Africa Proconsularis (corresponding to present-day Algeria and Tunis). Here, after the extensions in Trajanic and Hadrianic times103 , the limes ran along the southern edge of the part above Tlemcen, Tiaret and Boghari, in an arc south of the Schottel-Hodna and continued over Biskra, running along the southern edge of the Aures. Thus it separated104 the mountainous parts of Algeria from the flat steppes and deserts of the South, a land of agriculture, farming and urban settlement from the pastures of the nomads. The divide exists today: it also coincides with the Berber-Arabic language border.

The was the homeland of the dromedary nomads. The Arab Middle Ages distinguished them as the Botr from the , the Beranes105. The Gaetulians corresponded to the Botr in antiquity. Although they were included in the name of the Moors, they were still distinguished as barbarians and raiders from the northerners living within the Limes.

tribesmen106. Long before the dromedary became important to them, they had made a name for themselves as horsemen. Their agility was so great that they were able to steer the horses at full speed, without plugs and with their bare feet107. They provided the Roman army with a brave and battle-hardened force.

The nomadism of the dromedary herdsmen grew out of the equestrian nomads as a new form. Horse and dromedary were not mutually , but were used side by side in war108. These tribes had once their wives and children on horseback on their journeys now they used the dromedary. Lightly fenced109, it was sufficient to carry even the small possessions of these nomads110. Their existence remained the same as before, but the dromedary put their life in the desert on a more secure footing.

Things were similar in neighboring Tripolitania. The urban centers of the Roman province - Sabratha, Oea, Lepcis - were directly adjacent to each other.

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on the KuE ste. To protect it, the limes ran from Tacape in the west (Gabes on the Little Syrte) to Lepcis Magna in the east. It encompassed the coastal plain of the Jefara and ran along the edge of the Jebel, never reaching more than 150 kilometers inland. Consisting of small fortified posts, it reached its southernmost point at Nalut in the Nefusa Jebel111.

Beyond this line, the course of which is described in the Itinerarium Antonini112 , outposts113 were advanced as far as the great limestone desert of the southeast (Hamada el-Hamra), to Gadames, Gheria el-Garbia and Bu Ngem. Even further south, beyond the black-burnt Jebel es-Soda and the adjoining (Serir ben-Afen), lies the oasis area of Fezzan. Here lived in

The Garamantes, a tribe that also farmed and cultivated crops, lived among the urban settlements. After several expeditions had broken their resistance, they held firmly to the Romans. Fezzan became a land of elephant hunts and ivory trade1133. Garama, the capital of Fezzan, was a station for trans-Saharan caravan traffic; it was also a base from which the restless desert tribes could be kept in check114.

Again, there are two separate areas. Here the province and next to it the Fezzan with its oasis settlements, with the extensive irrigation systems115 , with its sanctuaries116 and the Roman import goods in the necropolis m, with stone mausoleums118 in the Roman style. There the nomadic such as the Mudiviuvians and Zanucians, whose Berber names are known from occasional inscriptional mentions119. Under Septimius Severus, these tribes the cities of Tripolitania.

120 of them are depicted as prisoners on the triumphal arch erected for the emperor in his native city of Lepcis Magna121. A relief122 shows the dead left behind the attackers in front of a city wall with tombs. They are all wearing "Parthian" costume. But it has long been noticed that similar clothing recurs in the native depictions of the Tripolitan mosaics123. Characteristic features such as the wide shalwars124 and the
"Phrygian" coats also appear on 177 the rock paintings of the Blemmyer125. Here it is the costume of the horsemen126 , and equestrian nomads must also have been the Tripolitanian . In Tripolitania, too, the lifestyle of the dromedary nomads was therefore made up of

an older adult solely on the horse. The side
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Finally, the Blemmyans, who depicted the Egyptian god Min on horseback and armed with an equestrian lance127, are a combination of both forms. In addition, in the first half of the 3rd century a not insignificant part of the tribe must have appeared as foot soldiers128.
The cavalry gave the nomads military superiority over the local Libyans from the outset. The latter still fought with the ancient chariot, which the Carthaginians had taken over from them around the middle of the 4th century129. The Fezzan rock carvings have provided depictions of such chariots and thus confirmed the literary tradition130. With the advent of the dromedary, the superiority of the nomads grew considerably, and under their pressure the garamantes of the Fezzan seem to have moved to the southwest in whole or in part. Remnants of them and their
"syrtic" culture is to be recognized among the tribes of the Niger Arc, where old heroic legends have preserved the memory of the former capital Garama, of an emigration that took place before 300 AD131.
From these premises, we can finally approach the question of where the entire movement originated. The emergence of the Dromedary nomads has been attributed to the displacement of the coastal Libyans to South Africa132 , which began in the 3rd century AD. The displaced tribes had turned the knowledge of the dromedary and the dromedary fight received from the Romans against them. This is hardly correct. The way of life of the

Dromedary , we saw, grew out of an older equestrian nomadism. And even if the desert tribes may have received their dromedaries from the Romans in some cases - which can neither be proven nor disproven - there is still no difference between the use of the animal in the urban, arable province and that in the . The economic exploitation of the dromedary as the basis of nomadic desert life, the tactic of dromedary combat, must have come from another source. This tactic appeared on the Upper Egyptian border in the second half of the 3rd century, but not in Numidia until the 4th 133rd century. So the movement was from east to west. The starting point was then the Arabian Peninsula, where the dromedary fight is old133tt.

In the view of late antiquity, the Saracens ranged from the land of the Assyrians to the rapids of the Nile134. RaEberian and warlike,

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\

they served themselves next to the horse of the dromedary'". Ibre SuE dgrenze lay with the Blemmyers - of whom, as I said, these.be applied.

accordingly as allies of Firmus (p 162 above) alongside the Blemmyern. Who were these Saracens? They bite at the Arabian Sea", we are told. So they were WuE sten Arabs: Bedouins who lived under the hair tent. They can be identified even more precisely - because Thamudic inscriptions have been found next to the rock carvings of the Blemmyer - and a troop of the same origin, ^ S

-T^u^ Lud in Upper Egypt at the end of the 4th century"". So these Saracens, neighbors of the Blemmyer, to the Thamudenes, a northern Arabian tribe, who in the 3rd century A.D. together with the

The same is true of the North Arabian Lihjanites in the area around the oasis of Teimanordliehen Hedschas'". Around 250, they had taken possession of the once Nabataean Hcjr'". At that time'" and later'" they were seen as a trading people; the neighboring el-Ela had already been established as a trading post by the Sudarabian Mina'" before them.

This corresponds to the fact that, according to the papyri, there was an "Arabia" region in Upper Egypt and an "Arabian" region at its head. This aE gyptian Arabia, perhaps divided into a lower and an upper one, lay between the NU and the Eotem Sea'". The nomadic population there paid their taxes from large and small livestock""; in some cases the Arabs had also become sedentary '". The title Arabotoxotes refers to the use of the bow as a weapon'". The Egyptian Arabs were famous as breeders of dromedaries. The purchase of a dromedary mare with an Arab brand, " or wusum, is several times in the papyri'54. In el-Ela and Teima, the Arabian homeland of the Thamudenes, there are also signs of blood-bought dromedaries. In addition to cattle, donkeys and sheep, dromedaries, often inscribed with the owner's name, are found on the rock there, the Thamudic ones in general

According to the "principle of publicity", legal obligations had to be recorded for all to see in southern Arabia'". So these dromedary drawings with the owners' inscriptions, as found on the rocks, may also have signified deeds of sale""; in one case this is actually said"". Similar depictions of dromedary riders have come to light on the gate towers of Dura-Europos"". Here we are in the Safam area; inscriptions of the same origin have been found in Dura itself. The

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The Safaites are familiar with the dromedary drawings with indication of ownership in numerous cases. The rock paintings from the Sinai Peninsula and from Transjordan form the bridge to North Africa, which also show correspondence in style *" If the connection must be sought here via the

north side of the Red Sea, in other one was more to South Africa. The Semitic tribes of Abyssinia came from the Arabian peninsula and speak a South Darabian dialect "*. An inscriptional text in Sabaean language and script is known from the middle of the 1st century" B.C., which is now walled into the church on Mount Abba Pantaleon near Aksum "*. The Ai thiopic novel by Heliodorus of Emesa, which written in the late thirties of the 3rd century AD"", however, names the Aksumites and SuE darians as friends or subjects of the king of Meroe^. A century later, under King Ezana, the kingdom of Aksum extended its power northwards as far as Meroe. The conqueror's military extended as far as the border of northern Noba, i.e. as far as the Dromedary nomads themselves.

Rock carvings of such nomads have also been found in Abyssinia. Trade between Muza (Mocha in Yemen) and the opposite African shore, especially with Adule not far from present-day Massaua, was lively. There was a special class of barques used here called Adulija™. Further north on the South Darabian , near the "burnt" island (Jebel Teir), cattle and dromedary herders lived™ The rock paintings found in Hadramaut with their dromedary images "" and votive bronzes from South Darabia, also depicting dromedaries*™, follow.

These warriors on horseback or on the dromedary with their long lances W! can almost be with the rock paintings from the Blemmyer region. It is confirmatory that in addition to and Thamudic inscriptions, which correspond to the route via the Sinai Peninsula and the northern end of the Red Sea, there also appear inscriptions of Himalayan*" origin appear. A river must therefore also have reached the land of the Blemmyer from SuE darabia.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

i F. Altheim, Die Soldatenkaiser (1939). There is no factual reason to take issue with the review that W. Enßlin, Hist. Jahrbuch 61, 266 f. dedicated to my book. But in order not to give the impression

As if there were nothing to reply to, a few pages are subject to a review. I will confine myself to the areas covered in this volume. I reserve the right to to others in the second or third volume.
Soldatenkaiser 15f. I had begun, as above (p. 17 f.), with the story of Ardeschir's escape from the court of the Parthian king. E. speaks of a "legendary report" (Soldatenkaiser 17), following my lead. E.'s own knowledge of the sources did not allow him to recognize the Middle Persian Karnameh-i Ardeshir-i Papakan.... . That this is the case is confirmed by E.'s remark on p. 269. Of course, the Parthian kings also knew the Chvarna conception. It has never occurred to me to doubt this. But the assertion that in the Karnameh the Parthian Ardewan was something other than a usurper, that he also stood there under the protection of Chvarna, shows once again that E. has not read the Scriptures. Her Sasanian legitimist attitude simply does not allow for the view that the rule of the "intermediate " (p. 49 above) was willed by God. - The accusation that I "still cling too much" to the Hellenism of the Parthians provides too little that is tangible to respond to. Where have I given more Rostovtzeff's account? He is without reason as a counter-witness. is the strong aramaEc element
This is expressed not only in the art of Parthian Mesopotamia, but also in the writing of the Parthian chancery. This is shown above all by the Parthian version of the newly found royal inscription of Shapur I from the Kaba-i Zerdusht (H. H. Schaeder, ZDMG. 96, 3f.). Entire sentences there are composed of Aramaic ideograms. The emphasis on an originally nomadic way of life

of the Parthians, as I presented it for the first time (Weltherrschaft und Krise 190f.), E. takes offense; one can see that it is difficult to please him. What he has not noticed is that, in the meantime, the finds from Dura (page 20 above) and the deer helmet of the Parthian (p. 21 above) have confirmed a distinct Parthian animal style. This provides new evidence for an nomadic form. - The reference to Persian riding and archery during the Achaemenid period is absurd. For it is precisely there that the influence of an equestrian people, in this case the Medes, can be found; see most recently H. H. Schaeder, Das persische Weltreich 15 f. For further information, please refer to the fundamental works of J. Wiesner, especially on riding and riding in ancient Europe and the ancient Orient 78. It is hardly to emphasize that Wiesner agrees with my view. The riding in Xenophon's CyrupaE die (1, 4, 4f.; 8, 8, 12f.) leads up to the oldest Persian kings, when they were just away from the Medes. The younger Cyrus adopts the ancient custom (cf. Anab. 1, 9, 5) in contrast to the effeminacy (Cyrup. 8, 8, 12f.) of the later Achaemenids. Nowhere are they depicted on horseback. The younger Cyrus, not his brother

and opponent, tries an equestrian attack in the battle of hei Kunaxa. In contrast to the equestrian Macedonian king, the last Achaemenid does not lead his battles from horseback, but from a chariot. The Pompeian Alexander mosaic shows the contrast in the picture. Finally, Darius flees from Alexander to the east in a chariot. This chariot is the older Indo-European form, which predates the invasion of the equestrian peoples, among the Persians as elsewhere (J. Wiesner, l.c. 33f.). - The

Women on the ancient Persian relief of Erghili do not ride on horses, as E. p. 268 thinks, but on mules; cf.
E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 24 - The situation is similar with the scale armor. They do not occur on horses in Achaimenid times. The passages cited by F. E. Brown, Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, 446 note 4-5 show that there were forehead, breast and thigh plates (cf. W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Milit. and Naval Developm. 73f.), but no continuous scale or lamellar covering. In contrast, the armor worn by the Saka horses at the battle of Gaugamela (Arrian., anab. 3, 13, 4) consisted of iron lamellae (Curt. Ruf. 4, 9, 3), as I have already shown in Weltherrsch, u. Krise 199. There I also drew the connection to the Parthian horse armor. So I had a right to say that the scale and lamellar armor had undergone a special development in Alexander's time (Soldatenkaiser 21). On the horse armor of the Sarmatian cataphracts, see page 198 note 271 below. E. has uncritically followed American research here. - On the depictions of cataphracts and horse armor in Dura, see M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 96; E. does not even seem to suspect that a problem here.
- The categorical and naive question ("when" p. 268) as to when the Parthians officially adopted the Zarathustrian religion is revealing for the imaginary world in which E. operates. E. knows neither that
no Zarathustrian deities appear in the Parthian Dura (p. 42 above), nor is he aware of the problems with the first Awesta redaction. It is crucial to answer the question of whether they already appeared in Parthian times, as F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel assumed, or only in early Hsasanian times (S. H. Nyberg, D. Relig. d. alte Iran, uE bers, von H. H.

Schaeder,414f.; most recently H. H. Scbaeder, Forsch, und Fortschr. 1941, 14; cf. Iran. Beitr. 1, VIII; 291; ZDMG. 1941, 298f.)
took place. In any case, it remains important that Mani was already familiar with the Middle Persian commentaries and translations (M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 124 note 1; Bidez-Cumont, Les mages hellenises 1. 91 note 1), so that they have been placed in pre-Asanid times (H. H. Schaeder, Iran. Beitr. 1, 277). E.'s ignorance carried him over all these questions with a happy momentum. - Of course, my view of the Parthians' ecstatic way of fighting was not based on the one passage in Justin. 41, 2, 8. E. did not recognize that my account of Soldier-Emperor 30 f. is based on Plutarch. is based on Plutarch. In the chapters (W.W.Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 50f.) of his biography of Crassus, which go back to an excellent source, he emphasizes the ecstatic and terrifying nature of the drum roll

that preceded the Parthian cavalry attacks at Carrhae: (Crass. 23, 9). The phrase (bpuyT/ ^ptcfiSsi should be particularly emphasized. The artistic depictions of the cavalrymen (pp. 73f. above) and their own utterances show (p. 73 above) that they in an animal-like, instinctive manner, that they encouraged and hunted the enemy to death like a predator its prey. From Plutarch's point of view, this may have seemed cotpov (Crass. 24, 5). But the Euripidean verses with which Jason of Tralleis lifts up the head of Crassus in Bacchic ecstasy (dvaßaxxsoE aag p,ex'ivS-oua(,ao[iooE Crass. 33, 4) can only be found in the idea of such a bloody hunt: cpepojxev ig oE peos IXixa vsoE tojxov im.

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|i£XaO-p",iJ.axaE piovS "iipa|i,a (Eurip.,Bakch. 1169; Plutarch., Crass. 33,4f.) their full meaning. UI deliberate tactics, as E. wants, is the certainly not . UI berhaupt is the planmaEßige

The form of this way of fighting was always something . This is shown by the reports we have on the reform of the mau- tun (p. 62 above), the Huns and not only for them. No similar measures are attested for the Parthian army. Surena's innovations consisted solely in the introduction of arrow ammunition on dromedaries (W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Milit. and Naval Developments 89 f.).

In all other respects, I can be more . Here, too, E.'s criticism has gone astray. To p. 269: The influence of the Quades by the neighboring equestrian went so far that Ammianus could speak of permixtos Sarmatas et Quados, vicinitate et similitudine morum armaturaeque concordes (17, 12, 1). - Of course, it was far from my intention to assume that the Goths generally adopted a semi-nomadic way of life. E. did not read carefully. I said that where the Gothic nobility succeeded the Bosporan landowners, they were forced to adopt the same way of life as them (Soldatenkaiser 86). The fact that this was semi-nomadic is shown by the funerary frescoes from Kerch (M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 160f.; Pl. 28, 1). For more on the Goths' rural settlement style, see G. Vetter, Die Ostgoten und Theoderich (Forsch, z. Kirchen- u. Geistesgesch. 15) llf. The Germanic tribes were already familiar with chariots and chariot castles before the Goths, as I have (Soldatenkaiser 94). What was new was that the Goths used them even after they had settled in South Russia again. settled again in South Russia. The wagon castle was their resting place in battle; they used the chariot as a church (Ambros., ep. 20,12 Migne 16,997), just as the nomad tent served them as such (Sozom. 6, 37, 13; the Sasanids also used a tent the fire sanctuary: K. Erdmann, D. iran. Feuerheiligtum 46). The pagan sanctuaries were not only used during migration (Eunap.fr. 55), but also otherwise on chariots (Sozom.

6,37,28). - E. also insists on instructing me in oriental matters. The migration of Yemenite tribes is saidbegin in the 2nd century AD. A RE. article is cited, which in turn refers to a book that is long out of date. . . E. knows nothing of the fact that there had been a MinaE is colony in the

vicinity of the oasis of Teima since the 8th century BC (p. 123 above); that at the turn of the century or shortly thereafter Tenuchids and Salihids appeared on the border of Syria, that we have settlements there whose very names betray their origins in SuE darabia (R. Dussaud, Les Arabes en Syrie avantl'islam9f.). The assertion Hira only played a role the Sasanians in the 3rd century AD, but not for Rome and Syria, is also incorrect. The conflicts with Zenobia, which are reported in Arabic tradition (see p. 129 above), took place during this period. It is best confirmed by the tomb of the Lahmid Imrulkais ibn Amr in Namara and by the new Coptic manifesto (R. Dussaud, l.c. 34f.; Schmidt-Polotsky, SBAW. 1933,28f.; H. H. Schaeder, Gnomon 9, 344). - For the Roman occupation of Palmyra I am referred by E. to F. Cumont, CAH. 11,859. I believe that the great researcher himself protest most vigorously against the misuse of the outdated statement. For he knows what E. has missed, that
H. Seyrig, Syria 22, 155f. has placed the history of Palmyra on a new, and for E. certainly not unsurprising, footing. - On the question of the dromedary nomads, I refer to my remarks on pp. 151 f. above. A discussion with E. is unnecessary, since he missed the evidence of the Thamudic and Himalayan inscriptions, the rock paintings of the Blemmyer, the finds from Karanog and the papyri. . . Even
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It is understandable that fighting on the dromedary is essentially related to fighting on the horse. J. Wiesner, op. cit. O. 71, has already noted this.
Allow me to break off; allow me also not to go into the general questions raised by E.. With the lack of knowledge of my critic (I regret that I cannot find another word)
should not result in a fruitful debate. In the introduction to my Soldatenkaiser, I called for a universal historical approach. Not in order to say something new, as E. insinuates. But I did emphasize the necessity of such an attitude in today's research. E. is proof how right I was with this demand.

CHAPTER I: IRAN

- The following chapter was first published in the Neue Rundschau in 1938, then Soldatenkaiser 15 et seq. It is presented here in a revised form and with references.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 36 note 1.
- KaE rnaE mak-I Arthachschlr-I PaE pakaE n,uE bers. by Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 22f.; E. G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia 1, 137f.
- On the chronology Th. Noeldeke, l.c. O. 23f.; Grundr. der Iran. Philologie 2, 135; D. iran. National Epic 6.

6 E. Herzfeld, Archeological History of Iran 17f.

- Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 39; on the ball game mentioned there C. Diem, Asiat. Reiterspiele 106 f.
- Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 39f.
- Th. Noeldeke, a. 0. 40f.

- On the following F. Altheim, Weltherrschaft und Krise 91 f.; 190f.
- On the age of these influences E. Herzfeld, l. O. lf.
- Ed. Meyer, BluE te u. Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien 49; N. C. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia 2 f.
- Strabon 11 p. 515; cf. p. 508f.; Justin. 41, 1, 10; on the tradition Ed. Meyer, l.c. O. 49 note 1; E Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran 4, 36 note 1. Areos et sparnos C, also y; spart(h)anosxm hypartanos H): O. Seel, Studi ital. di filol. class. 11, 255f. According to this, re xm was the best tradition (pp. 39f.); E. Herzfeld, probably rightly, disagrees. In his edition, O. Seel writes: f Sparnos with the remark: crucem addidi.
- C. Hopkins, Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1933 -35, 381.
- N. Toll, ibid. 387f.; Pl. 39, 2.
- N. Toll, op. cit. O. 390.
- C. Hopkins, op. cit. O. 376f.; Pl. 39, 1; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 222.
- A. Salmony, Sino-Siberian Art Taf. 9,4; H. E. Minns, The Antiqu. Journ. 10, Pl. 2, 18.
- C. Hopkins, op. cit. O. 379 f.
- Excavat.atDura-Europos 1930-31 ,Pl. 20,4.
- Die hohe Jagd 2 217f.; Wild und Hund 47, 399 fig. 1-2. I owe the reference to O. H. v. Bockelberg.
- Revue des arts asiatiques 10, plates 69-70.
- F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien 66, 3; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 230.
- A. Salmony, op. cit. O. Pl. 12, 2; 40, 2.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iraniansand GreeksTaf. 26,1.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 230.
- H. Lommel, The Religion of Zarathustra 78f.; 113f.
- I owe the formulation to L. Frobenius.
- Herodian. 4, 11, 6; 15, 3.
- Justin. 41, 3, 4.
- huvaspaE Dar. Pers. d 8.
- R. Hanslik, RE. 17, 712f.; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 265.

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3*a Herod. 1,136; 7, 57 (note by H. Kleinknecht). 32
Herodotus. 3, 84-85.
83 F. Sarre, Die Kunst d. alten Persien 52 above;
J. Wiesner, Germanien 1942, 214f. 34 F. Sarre, a. 0.13f.; 18; Sarre-Herzfeld, Iran.
Rock reliefs Pl. 14-15; p. 143 Fig. 65.

- F. Sarre,a. 0.15; Sarre-Herzfeld,a. O.Taf. 23. so F. Sarre, a.

O. 16-17; Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. op. 137
fig. 62.

- F. Sarre,a.0.33f.;Sarre-Herzfeld,l.c.Taf.3. 87a J. Friedrich, Welt als Gesch. 2, 111.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 51.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 3.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 19; 22; 25;,27; 38; SarreHerzfeld, op. cit. O. Taf. 24; p. 141 fig. 64-65.

40a J. Wiesner, Germanien 1941, 215.

- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 73; Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 11.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 74-77; 79; Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 7; 42-45; p. 220 Fig. 109.

48 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 70-71; 78; Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 5; 13; 41; p. 75 fig. 30. On the subject M. Rostovtzeff, Sem. Kondakov. 6, 179 note 41.

44 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 82-83; cf. 145; Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 6; 8; 51; E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien Taf. 23.

46 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 85-87; cf. 98-99; 104-108; 112-115; Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 37-39; p. 211 fig. 99; E. Herzfeld, op. O. Plates 42-43; 45; 50-53.

48 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 70; 81; Sarre - Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 5; 9; 12; pp. 199 fig. 92-95; p. 213 fig. 101; 218 fig. 107; E. Herzfeld, a. O. Pl. 29; 31-32; 44.

47 J. Wiesner, Driving and Riding in Ancient Europe and the Ancient Orient 78.

48 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 23; p. 40f.

49 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 26; p. 53f.

50 To the following Justin. 41, 2, 4f.

51 For an explanation, see A. v. Gutschmidt, Gesch. Iran 33.

62 Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1928-29, Pl. 41, 2; 43, 2; 1930-31, Pl. 21, 1-2; 1933-35, Pl. 56, 1-3; F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 44f.; E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 20; CAH., Plates 4, Pl. 26b.

68 On the following: W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Naval and Military Developments 73f.; F.Altheim, Weltherrschaft u. Krise 198f.; Welt als Gesch. 3, 335f.

54 Arrian. anab. 3, 8, 3.

65 Arrian. anab. 3, 8, 3.

" Arrian. anab. 3, 13, 4; Curt. Ruf. 4, 9, 3: equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis laminis serie inter se connexis.

57 Justin. 41, 2, 10: munimentum ipsis equisque loricae plumatae sunt quae utrumque toto corpore tegunt.

88 According to the older commentators (W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia to Pl. 1, lf.; W. W. Tarn, CAH. 9, 591) on an omphalos. However, the long-legged triangle divided into rectangles, which has been referred to as such, is the lower part of the plate armor worn the archer. It conceals the actual seat, the nature of which remains unrecognizable. The interpretation

is confirmed by an embossing of Aze (P. Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India, Pl. 17, 8) or by a small bronze of Kadphises I, on which the king on horseback or standing the same armor with his lap reaching down to his lower legs. Cf. Welt als Gesch. 2, 335 note 112 (the originals were made available to me in 1935 in the British Museum's Museum Cabinet through the kindness of H. Mattingly and J. Allan). Also M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 229 note 101 speaks of a "kaftan-cuirass" in our case.

- Sallust in Serv., Aen. 11, 771; Plutarch, Crass. 24, 1;

Justin. 41, 2, 10.

- W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Military and Naval Developments 88f.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 89f.
- Plutarch, Crass. 21, 7.
- Plutarch, Crass. 21, 7; 25, 1.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 90; 160f.

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- Herodian. 6, 5, 3; cf. 3, 1, 3. 6Ba Amm. Marc. 21, 13, 4.
- F. Altheim, Helios and Heliodorus of Emesa, Albae Vigil. 12,40f. The following is based on the explanations given there p. 33 f.
- Amm. Marc. 16, 10, 8; 24, 6, 8; 25, 1, 12f.; Th. Noeldeke,

Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser und Araber, 247; E. Herzfeld, Am Tor v. Asien 88; 159 note 144.

- Summarizing E. Herzfeld, op. cit. op. 86f.
- A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst- und Kulturgesch. Central Asia 47f. fig. 32f.; 53f. fig. 49f.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1930-31, 215f.; Pl. 21, 3; 22, 2.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, Pl. 21 f.; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 221 f.
- P. Ntfrlund and B. Thordemann, Acta Arch. 2, 53f.; B. Thordemann, ibid. 4, 117f.; 5, 294f.
- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 56 fig. 57f.; 60 fig. 70; M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style 106 f. note 2; Mon. Piot 26,135f.; B. Laufer, Chinese Clay Figures 1, 174 f.
- 259, 4f.
- 261, 12f.; 25f.
- 261, 28.
- 262, 17.
- F. Altheim, The Soldier Emperors 159f.
- 2 59, 8 ; 261, 12.
- TrpoauE meiov 259, 13; cf. Amm.Marc. 25,1,12.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1930-31, Pl. 21,3; 22, 2; M.

Rostovtzeff, ibid. 215; 216; cf. 1932-33, 306.

- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 57 Fig. 63.

- 2 59, 16.
- axmdXas 259, 19.
- B. Thordemann, Acta Arch. 4, 117.
- xax' oE cxpa twv rcXeupffiv 259, 21.
- (Jacpat 259, 24.
- oE noE xag £tutc-ci>x<xg 259, 24.
- xyjv ou|i7i;XoxY)v aYxtaTpwoavTeg 259, 24.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1930-31, Pl. 22,2; M. Rostovtzeff, ibid. 216.
- B. Thordemann, Acta Arch. 5, 294f.
- F. Altheim, Welt als Gesch. 2, 340.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, Pl. 23; F. E. Brown, ibid. 444f.
- B. Thordemann, Acta Arch. 4, H7f.
- Acta Arch. 5, pl. 16.
- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 61 fig. 76; B. Thordemann, Acta Arch. 4, 128 f.
- 259, 28.
- 259, 25; xeipiSuE VcoE g 29.
- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 60 Fig. 70; 76 Fig. 134; a spaE tsasanid example 61 Fig. 74.
- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 54 Fig. 51; 55 Fig. 54.
- TtpojiSTioniSiov 260, 5.
- Anab. 1, 8, 6f.; Kyrop. 6,4, 1; 7, 1, 2; W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Military and Naval Developments 73f.; F.E.Brown,
- O. 444 note 1.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Scythia and the Bosporus 1, in the index under "StirnstuE cke".
- oxe7i:aa(ia oiSvjpoE nXojtov 260, 6.
- xop| aY]8oE v 262, 7.
- Zosim. 1, 35, 4; Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 38.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1930-31, Pl. 22, 2.
- 8so|iq) 260, 16; on this and the following F. E. Brown,
- O. 445 f.
- Excav. at Dura-Europos 1930-31, Pl. 22,1.
- Tac, hist. 1, 79, 7.
- 260, 23.
- M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 113f.; 117f.; E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 55.
- Plutarch, Crass. 21,7 TteXaE xas TS xai SooE XouE g; Justin. 41, 2, 5; M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. 119; Herodian. 3, 1, 3 says explicitly that there was neither a mercenary force nor a standing army.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 114.

- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 114; cf. 112; E. Herzfeld, op. cit. On the presumed silver treasure of Karen E. Herzfeld, Burlington Magaz. 52, 21 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 114.
- Plutarch, Crass. 21, 8.
- A. Christensen,L'empire des Sasanides 23f.; CAH. 12,114;

H.H. Schaeder, Bull. School Orient. Stud. 8, 737f.; E. Herzfeld, ibid. 93 7 f.

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- F. Cumont, C. R. de l'Acad. des inscriptions 1931, 238;

248 (Susa); W. Dittenberger, OGI. 254 (Babylon); M. Holleaux, Bull, corr. Hell. 57, 29 note 3; W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 30f.; 42f.

- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. op. 114f. and above p. 131.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 36 Anm. 3. On the chronicle of Arbela: A. Mingana, Sources Syriaques 1, 108; E. Sachau, Abh. BAW. 1915, 6, 62.
- H. H. Schaeder, Bull. School Orient. Stud. 8, 747 f. This procedure went via the Parthians to the Greek

Bactrian kings, as W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 90, has shown.

- A. Christensen, CAH. 12, 114 note 3; Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 26 note 1.
- Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 39f.
- Tsangpo Lama's Pilgrimage 2, Ulf.

120 M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 276; Dura-Europos and its Art 94; 95.

- Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. der Perser u. Araber 89f.; but cf. 85 note 3.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 104f.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 98 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 274; 276; Dura- Europos and its Art 94f.; cf. Amm. Marc. 24, 8, 5.

130a rp((,gov is a Gcythian loanword in Greek: E.Benveniste, MelangesBoisacq 37f.

- F. Sarre, a. O. 51, 1-7; 10.
- Justin. 41, 2, 5; 3, 4.
- Justin. 41, 3, 3.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 262f.; Dura-Europos and its Art 92f.; 98.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 42f.

135a Beauty of the Persian woman: Amm. Marc. 24, 4, 27.

- H. Haslund-Christensen, Jabonah 52 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 158 note la.
- Probably in the vicinity of Abivard, the ancient Apavarktikene (Justin. 41, 5, 2f.): W. W. Tarn, CAH. 9, 575; F. Justi, Grundriß der Iran. Philol. 2, 483.

- Strabon 16 p. 743.
- R. H. McDowell, Coins from Seleucia 177f.
- Dar. Pers. d 8.
- E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 81.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 44; Journ. R. Asiat. Soc. 1934, 226f.; Arch. f. Orientforsch. 9, 225; K. Erdmann, D. iran. Feuerheiligtum 29f. A list of the Greek inscriptions found in Iran so far in F. Cumont, Les fouilles de Doura-Europos 452f.
- E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 45; Arch. f. Orientforsch. 9, 225.

146 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 46f.; G. F. Hill, Catal. of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia CLXV.
146 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 46f.; 50. 1468 Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. op. 224f.
147 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 47f.
148 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. 48; G. F. Hill, op. cit. CLXI.
149 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 76.
150 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 76.
151 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 47; 76; Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 6 Anm. 7.
152 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 78.
153 On the following F. Justi, Grundr. der Iran. Philol. 2,512f.;A. Christensen, CAH. 12,109.
154 Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 5 note 3. on the title: H. Ingholt, Berytus 3, 93; A. Christensen, CAH. 12,114 note 4; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 201.
165 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 45. 158 F. Sarre, l.c. O. 51,14; K. Erdmann, D. iran. Fire Shrine Pl. 6 a.
157 E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 48.
158 A. Mingana, Sources Syriaques 1, 98f.; 105; E. Sachau, Abh. BAW. 1915, 6, 34; 56; 60. It is explicitly stated that the Persians had fought a lot against the Parthians, that they tried to rise up several times, but were no match for the enemy.
159 Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. der Perser u. Araber 11 f. "0 E. Herzfeld, Abh. BAW. 1914, 1, 7.
161 On the following J. G. Droysen, Alexander der Große 2 351 f. 1618 Th. Noeldeke, op. O. 19f. 177
162 w# Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India XIX, has shown that it is already present in the Achaimenid cuneiform scripts.
163 The individual stages in W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 72 f.
184 Plin. n. h. 6.47; W. W. Tarn, a. 0. 72; 117. 165 W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 116f.; uE ber Baktrien als Fruchtland: a. O. 102. 168 W. W. Tarn, op. O. 79; 143. 107 W# W> Tarn, op. O. 82; 117 Anni. 1.

- W. W. Tarn's far-reaching assumption that Eucratides' elevation took place with Antiochos IV. Epiphanes' support: a. 0. 183f. However, I cannot agree with Tarn's view of Heliocles' elevation (l.c. 219f.).
- A. v. Gutschmidt, a. 0. 44f.; E. Herzfeld, ArchaE ol. Mitt. aus Iran 4, 39f.; N.C. Debevoise, a. O. 19f.
- Justin. 41, 6, 8.
- Oros. 5, 4, 16, where Hydaspes is recorded; for the amendment E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 40; otherwise W. W. Tarn, CAH. 9, 579.
- N. C. Debevoise, Pol. Hist. of Parthia 27.
- N. C. Debevoise, op. cit. O. 19; W. W. Tarn, The Greeks etc. 222f.
- On the following: A. v. Gutschmidt, op. cit. O. 58f.; O. Franke, fig. BAW. 1904, 13f.; 21f.; E. Herzfeld, l.c. O. 14f.; W. W. Tarn, a. O. 270f.
- On the name F. W. K. MuE ller, SBAW. 1918, 574.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 21 f.; H. Reichelt, Idg. Jahrb. 1, 22; differently W. W. Tarn, op. O. 277.
- In detail A. v. Gutschmidt, op. cit. O. 31 f.
- O. Franke on their seats, op. cit. O. 64f.
- W> w> Tarn, a 0 296.
- Strabon 11 p. 511.
- Most recently H. W. Bailey, Bull. School Orient. Stud. 8, 885f.; S. Levi, Journ. Asiat. 222 (1935), iSt.; W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 285f.; H.

H. Schaeder, Morgenland 28,88 ;E. Schwentner, KZ. 64, 87f;
G. Haloun, ZDMG. 91, 243 f.

- H. W. Bailey, op. cit. O. 896f.; W. S. Henning,

Bull. School Orient, stud. 9, 545f.; doubts already in G. Haloun, Seit wann kannte die Chinesen die Tocharer oder die Indogermanen uE berhaupt? p. IV and in S. Levi, l.c. O. 4f.; 26f.; on the other hand P. Pelliot, Journ. asiat. 224-5 (1934), 234f.

- H. W. Bailey, l. c. O. 892f.; similarly also St. Konow (in an otherwise quite different work) Asia Maior 9, 466.
- H. W. Bailey, op. cit. O. 890f.
- H. W. Bailey, op. O. 892 note 2; 893f.
- G. Haloun, ZDMG. 91, 315f.
- H. LuE ders, SBAW. 1913,406f.; 1919,762f.; St. Konow,

ebendort 1916, 787f.; H. Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen 152f. 188 H. Reichelt, Idg. Jahrb. 1, 21 f.; H. Jacobsohn, l.c. O. 153; cf. R. Gauthiot, Essai de gramm. sogdienne 1 p. III ("Scythian" or "Northern Irish"); W. W. Tarn, CAH. 9, 574. 189 J. Junge, op. cit. O. 71; 81; uE ber ihre sprachliche Stellung: St. Konow, Festschr. V. Thomsen 97; J. Wackernagel, SBAW. 1918, 411; H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 154f.
190 Justin. 41, 2, 3; A. v. Gutschmidt, op. O. 32.
191 H. Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen 155f.; E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 36.
192 N. C. Debevoise, op. cit. O. 23.

193 O. Schroeder, Contracts of the Seleucid Period from Warka
N. 37.
194 Justin. 4, 6, 6-9; Oros. 5, 4, 16; further in N. C.
Debevoise, op. cit. O. 24 note 103.
195 N. C. Debevoise, op. cit. The Saks are out of the question, as they had already migrated to Kashmir around 155 (J. Junge, op. cit. 97f.).
108 J. Marquart, Eranschahr 21f. and in E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 150 note 68; E. Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt. 4,41; 42; 65
Note 1.

- patria: Justin. 41, 2, 1.
- Doubts already in G. Haloun, op. cit. op. 249 note 3.
- J. Junge, op. cit. O. 98 f.
- J. Junge, op. cit. O. 101 f.
- Justin. 42, 2, 2.
- w w Tarn? ft Q 223f . 495. m{
- Peripl. maris Erythr. 38.

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- E. Herzfeld, ArchaE ol. Mitt. aus Iran 4, 70f.; Archeol. History of Iran 58f.; W. W. Tarn, a; O. 281; 320; 499; E. J. Rapson, Ancient India 138f.
- In addition to the literature already mentioned, there are W. W. Tarn, CAH. 9, 582f.; A. Foucher, L'art Greco-bouddhique de Gandhare 2, 503f.; O. M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus 2 LXIIf.
- -w'> w. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 302 f.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 302.
- E. Burger, Geogr. Journ. 93 (1939), 384f.
- "X" and "school of X" according to W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 75f.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 172f.; 268f.
- W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 396f.; 400f.
- The Chinese news, which alone report on this (uE bers, by E. Chavannes, T'oungPao 8, 187f.), are most recently treated by Haneda Tora, Bull, de la maison Franco- Japonaise 4, lf. UI on the title of the FuE rsten G. Bataille, Arethuse 5, 22f.; W.W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 506.
- Haneda Torah, op. cit. O. 4.

2138 Sir John Marshall, A Guide to Taxila 8; 96.

- Haneda Torah, op. cit. O. 4 f.
- Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 57: exsuperqn[tTo]chari after the striking production. The passage is overlooked by Haneda Torah.
- J. Hackin, L'oeuvre de la delegation arch. francaise en Afghanistan 1, 4f.; J. J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Hadda 1-3.
- J. Hackin, op. cit. O. Fig. 12a-b.
- J. Hackin, op. cit. O. Fig. 15-16.

- A. Wylie, Journ. Anthr. Inst. 10, 41; cf. F. HuE rth, Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. 37, 96.
- Haneda Torah, op. cit. O. 8; 11 f.; cf. Herzfeld, a. 0.17; F.W.K.MuE ller, SBAW. 1918, 572; on similar conditions in the land of Kipin O. Franke, Abh. BAW. 1904, 64f.
- J. Werner, Sinica 14, 193 f.
- A. Wylie, op. cit. O. 35.
- J. Strzygowski, Altai, Iran und die VoE lkerwanderung 155f.; Asiens bildende Kunst 64f.
- Some types in E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 74 Fig. 9; after-effects still on the post-Sasanian bowls in E. Sarre, op. cit. O. 109f.; O. M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus2 Pl. 39, 211.
- Archaeol. Survey of India, Ann. Report 1911-12, pl. 53- 54; L. Bachhofer, FruE hind. Plastik 2, pl. 76; cf. 1, 55; plaques, pl. 77.

228 M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 229 note 101.

- M. Rostovtzeff, Semin. Kondakov. 6, 169f.; Dura-Europos and its Art 63f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, l.c. 170; Sem. Kondakov. 1, 141 f.; Recueil Kondakov 239f.; Praehist. Zeitschr. 22, 47f.; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 297.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Sem. Kondakov. 6, 182f.
- A. and Y. Godard, J. Hackin, Les antiquites bouddhiques de Bamiyan Taf. 22.
- E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 66.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 69.
- M. Rostovtzeff, a. O. 175; 176L; 180.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 179.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 181f.; O. M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus 2 no. 201; F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien 114f.
- Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Geschichte d. Perser u. Araber 17 f.
- A. Mingana, Sources Syriaques 1, 110; E. Sachau, Abh. BAW. 1915, 6, 64.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 87.

238a Sir John Marshall, op. cit. O. 17 note 1.

- Most recently E. Herzfeld, op. cit. His assumption was confirmed by the newly found inscription of Shapur I from Shapur: E. Ghirshman, Rev. des arts asiat. 10,123 f.

239a G. Bataille, Arethuse 5, 22f.; E. Herzfeld, Mem. Arch. Surv. India 38, IL; 32f.

- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 103; G. Bataille, op. cit. O. 28.
- On the following E. Herzfeld, Paikuli (text volume) and the correction Mem. Arch. Surv. India 38, 35f.
- H. LuE ders, Philolog. Indica 234; E. Herzfeld, Orient. Lit.- Ztg. 1919, 254f.

242a E. Herzfeld, loc. cit. O. 34f. 242b E. Herzfeld, op. op. 36f.

- e. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N. p. 6, 559.
- Th. Mominsen, R.G. 53, 393 f. 2" E. Sachau, Abh.BAW.

1915, 2. 216 Th. Mommsen, op. O. 394 note 1.

2" On the following W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 117 note 1; 120; 121f.; 475 f.

2" Strabon 11 p. 516; Plin, n. h. 6, 47; W. W. Tarn, a. 0. 117.

249 \v. Tarn, op. cit. O. 117; cf. 82.

250 W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 118; 121f.; cf. 279f. 2oE i W> f, Tarn, a. O. 121 f.

252 J. de Morgan, Mission scientif. en Perse, Cartes des rives meridionales de la mer Caspienne 4, 1, 128; T. J. Arne,

Geografiska Annaler 1935 (Festschrift S. Hedin), 29 and Pl. 1.

252ft Epit. 3, 10.

253 M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 204.

254 M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 28; O. Reuther, Die Ausgrab. d. dt. Ktesiphon-Expedition 1928-29, 7f.

255 On the following M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 28f.; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Excavat. at DuraEuropos 1932-33, 188f.

256 On this and the following: Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Geschichte der Perser u. Araber 158 and note 1; 123 and note 2; 131 note 1; 168 and note 6; Sir Aurel Stein, Geogr.

Journ. 47, 313f.; 48, 227f.; E. Herzfeld, Islam 11, 152 note 1. 2C6a]yj Trautz, Journ. R. Central Asian Soc. 1932, 140 reports a statement by G. A. Watten, the "forgotten explorer of Arabia". Every reader of C. M. Dougthy will remember similar remarks.

2B8b F. Justi, Grundr. d. iran.Philol. 2,481 f.; A. V. W. Jackson, ibid. 694.

257 E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 38.

258 M.Rostovtzeff,Dura-EuroposanditsArt60. "9 Justin. 41, 2, 8.

260 On the following Plutarch, Crass. 23,9; 24,3f. 281 Herodian. 4, 11, 3.

262 G. Nioradze, Shamanism among the Siberian 79 f.

263 A. AlfoE ldi, La royaute double des Turcs

(2e Congr. TuE re d'hist. 1937) 13; the four parts of the world in the Orkhon inscriptions: V. Thomsen, Inscriptions de POrkhon dechiffrees 97; 107; 115. Further: W. MuE ller, Kreis und Kreuz (1938); K. Kerenyi, Mythologie und Gnosis (Albae ViguE . 13) 22f.; A. SzaboE , Rhein. Mus. 87, 160f. Regarding the last-mentioned essay, I stated in 1941 "for the sake of the purity of scientific research": "The author has given a solution to the problem which originates from me and which

he heard from me. He neglected to mark this fact adequately and the essay in breach of an agreement he had made". The lament that the person concerned then made can be read in Philologiai koE zloE ny 1942 (a philological journal edited in better times by K. Kerenyi, whose current

editor has slipped my mind for lack of scholarly significance). SzaboE says that he no longer remembered what my intellectual property was when he finished his work. I can only reply that I remember it perfectly.
264 E. Herzfeld, At the Gate of Asia 95. 2G5
Plutarch, Crass. 33, 4f.
266 1169 f.

- A. V. W. Jackson, op. cit. O. 694f.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 45f.; II, Lommel, Die YaE st's des Awesta 171.
- H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 169 f.
- H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 170.
- The passages in HuE lsen, RE. 2, 2140f.
- H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 169.
- Herodot. 4, 5-6; H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 170.
- H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 172f.
- Yt. 19, 64; H. Lommel, op. O. 173.
- On the factuality of this descent, see above p. 31 and E. Herzfeld l.c. 47; 76 f.
- NRa 14 f.
- H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 170f.; 173.
- F. Sarre, The Art of Ancient Persia 70. 180

See also M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 175.
2ko Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 48; cf. Mmgana, Sources Syriaques 1, 108; E. Sachau, Abh. BAW. 1915, 6, 64. Shapur I also did the same after the victory, as the new

Inscription from the Kaba-i Zerduscht: W. B. Hennig, Bull. School Orient. Stud. 9, 846; H. H. Schaeder, Forsch, u. Fortschr. 1942, 13.
281 H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 130f.
1182 Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. der Perser u. Araber 17. 2" Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 4 note 2; F. Justi, Grundr. d. iran. Philol. 2, 515. On the equation with the Kaba-i Zerdusht: A. Christensen, CAH. 12, 120.
284 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 51, 14; G. F. Hill, op. cit. O. Pl. 28f.; 32, 5f.; K. Erdmann, D. Iran. Fire Shrine 30 f.
285 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 143; K. Erdmann, op. cit. O. Pl. 6a-b.
is,* Ki Erdmann, op. cit. O. 36-62. 288 The tradition in F. Geldner, Grundr. der iran. Philol. 2, 33f.
287 H. H. Schaeder, op. cit. O. 14.
288 S. EL Nyberg, Die Religionen d. alten Iran (uE bers, by H. H. Schaeder) 417f.; F. Geldner, a. O. 33 note 7; allusions based on new finds in E. Herzfeld, Archeol. History of Iran 100 f.
289 F. Geldner, op. cit. O. 34.
290 F. Geldner, op. cit. O. 34.

'-81 H. H. Schaeder, a. 0.14; on the question of the Arsacid Awesta most recently H. H. Schaeder, Iran. Beitr. 1, 277; 291; Bidez- Cumont, Les mages hellenises 1, 91 note 1; M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 124 note 1.

- S. H. Nyberg, op. cit. O. 414f., wants to place the recording of the Awesta at all only under Shapur II; before that only oral tradition existed. The question cannot discussed here; cf. also A. Christensen, CAH. 12, 111 note 1.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 40f.; H. H. Schaeder, ZDMG. 95, 272.
- E. Sachau, Aram. Papyri u. Ostraka 51 f. Pap. 10, 6.
- M. Hartmann, Orient. Lit. Ztg. 1937, 145f. 295a H jj> Schaeder, a. O. 14. 295b St.Assemani, Acta SS.Martyrum 1 (1748);

P. Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum 2 and 4 (1891; 1894); G. Hoffmann, Ausz. aus syr. Akten pers. MaE rtyrer (1880). 298 Its phases have been described by W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 34f., the late period by M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 89f.; cf. H. H. Schaeder, Morgenland Heft 28, 99. The reference is of noEce, since recently another attempt has been made to define Hellenism (Das neue Bild der Antike 334f.) without taking these fundamental works into account.
297 Bellinger-Welles, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 95 f.

298 A. Falkenstein, Topography of Uruk I: Uruk in the Seleucid Period; W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 6; 25f.; 58f.
299 M. Rostovtzeff, Yale-Class. Stud. 5, 178f.

300 M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 57 f.

301 M Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 100f.

302 E. S. Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran 17; Schmidt-Polotsky, SBAW. 1933,63 note 1; H. H. Schaeder, Vortr. Warb. 1924-25, 69; 72.
303 Polotsky, RE, Suppl. 6, 243; H. H. Schaeder, op. cit. O. 68 note.
4.

304 H. H. Schaeder, Morgenland Heft 28, 97; Polotsky, op. cit. O. 243f.
395 H. H. Schaeder, op. cit. O. 98. 398 H. H. Schaeder, op. cit. O. 98;
Vortr. Warburg 1924-25, 74f.; 77 note 2; 86 note 3; 118;
125f.; Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch. 51, 31 note 14; 63ff. 307 H.
H. Schaeder, Morgenland 28, 99; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 190.

- a On the evaluation Schmidt-Polotsky, SBAW. 1933, 50f.; H.

H. Schaeder, Gnomon 9,350.

- A. Christensen, CAH. 12, 102; Polotsky, op. O. 244. 300

Polotsky, op. cit. op. 244; E. Herzfeld, op. O. 103.
181

- Polotsky, op. cit. On the Shapuhrakan most recently H. H. Sckaeder, Stud. z. antik. Synkretismus 286; Vortr. Warburg 1924-25, 95.

310aAlex. Lycop. 2, p. 4 Br.: Schmidt-Polotsky, SBAW. 1933,
48f.; 52.

310b H. H. Schaeder, Forsch, u. Fortschr. 1942, 14; H. J. Polotsky, Manich. Manuscr. of the A. Chaster Beatty Collection 1, 45
Z. 15f.

- The Arab tradition in Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 47 note 5; Schinden als Hinrichtung bei den Persern: Amin. Marc. 23, 6, 80; Lactant, De pers. mart. 5, 6; E. Sachau, Abb. BAW. 1915, 6, 67. The Coptic tradition (Schmidt-Polotsky, op. cit. O. 52f.; H. J. Polotsky, Manich. Handschr. der Slg. A. Chaster Beatty 1, 56) has allegedly brought the news that Mani died in prison as a result of his imprisonment. Cf. W. Henning, SBAW. 1934, 862 note 3; Orient. Lit. Ztg. 1935, 2231; H. H. Schaeder, op. cit. O. 81.
However, Mani's crucifixion is mentioned: p. 44 line 18; p. 60 line 3. Mani's Sisinnios also died on the cross: Schmidt-Polotsky, SBAW. 1933, 25f.; 34; H. J. Polotsky, l.c. 83 Z. 9; 15.
- An example in E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 35f.; the in W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia (1903).
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 294.
- Plutarch, Crass. 33, 3f.; tpaycp8o£ in Dura: M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 28. Cf. also Yale Class. Stud. 5, 184.
- F. Cumont, C.-R. de l'Acad. des inscriptions 1932, 238f.; Suppl. Epigr. Graec. 7, no. 1.
- H.H.Schaeder,Forsch.u.Fortschr.l942,13f. 316a Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 23.
- F. Geldner, op. cit. O. 34.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 37.
- Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 20f.
- Th. Noeldeke, a. 0. 15.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 70; Sarre-Herzfeld, a. 0.67f.; Pl. 5.
- E.Herzfeld,Archeol.HistoryofIran78f.;81f.
- Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 147f.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 47f.; Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 19.
- H. Lommel, op. cit. O. 169f.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 76.
- Herodian. 6, 2, 2; 4, 5.
- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 82f.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. O. P. 37.
- Th. Noeldeke, Bezzenb. Beitr. 4, 47.
- Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 26 f.
- Th. Noeldeke, op. cit. O. 25f.
- On the historical significance: E. G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia 1, 130f.
- Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 217f.
- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 834f.; H.H. Schaeder, Forsch, u. Fortschr. 1942, 13.
- W. B. Henning, op. cit. O. 832f.; H. H. Schaeder, op. cit. O. 13.

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CHAPTER II: THE FAR EAST

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27 O. Franke, op. cit. O. 1, 355. On Shan-juE and the presumed occurrence of the title on of the Kushan G. Bataille, Arethuse 5, 22f.

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34 In E. Chavannes, op. cit. O. 216: "C'etait un homme resolu qui n'observait pas les regles minutieuses de la politesse".

- In E. Chavannes, op. cit. O. 225: "Je voudrais reunir toutes les forces pour ecraser et detruire K'ieou-tseu (Kutscha), pour rouvrir et pacifier la route qui mene en Chine; quand nous serons empares de K'ieou-tseu, alors parmi les pays d'Occident, il n'y en aura plus guere qu'un sur cent qui ne se soumettra pas encore". Cf. 227.
- His poignant petition to the Emperor at E. Chavannes, a. O. 238 f.
- In E. Chavannes, op. O. 221; 223; 226; 227.
- In E. Chavannes, op. cit. O. 226: "Se servir des barbares pour attaquer les barbares".
- An overview map of the following in A. Herrmann, Atlas of Chine 17.
- On this and the following B. Homan, op. cit. O. 1, 22.

- 0. Franke, a. 0. 1, 404.

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Eberhard, op. cit. O. 21 f.
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46 O. Franke, a. 0. 2, 32.
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61 O. Franke, op. cit. O. 2, 35f.; basic information in O. Spengler, Untergang des Abendlandes 72-73 1? 67 Taf> m; Ai pelliot, La haute Asie 11.
62 B. Laufer, a. 0. 185f.
53 M. Rostovtzeff, Mon. Piot 26, 136 (after B. Laufer); The Animal Style 79.
64 E. Pelliot, T'oung Pao 1926, 265.
85 O. Franke, Gesch. d. chines. Reiches 1, 195; B. Laufer, op. cit. 222; E. Erkes, T'oung Pao 36, 70f.; J. J. M. De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 34. 56 Summarizing W. Eberhardt, Kultur u. Siedlung der RandvoE lker Chinas 47f.
67 P. Pelliot, La haute Asie 6.

- P. Pelliot, a. 0. 6; 0. Franke, a. 0. 1, 328; H. H. Schaeder, Litterae Orient. 82 (Apr. 1942), 3; K. Shiratori, Journ. asiat. 1923, 1, 71f. Prokop., b. Goth. 1, 16, 1 mentions two Hunnish bodyguards of Beiisar, Chorsomanes and Aishmanes. F. Justi (Iran. Namenbuch 11) had already tried to interpret the name of the second as Iranian. Chorsomanes seems to be an even more deceptive case. It contains awest. y?ar- and &amnah- (cf. ftamnahvant- to Old Ind. samnisva-, Greek y.d\i.\m: Chr. Bartholomae, Altiran. WoE rterb. 785). Thus "the sheltered by the sun", with alternation of & and s: Chr. Bartholomae, Grundr. d. iran. Philol. 1, 165 f. § 282. Whether the tombs of Noin Ula in Outer Mongolia belonged to Iranian rulers has been answered by M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 101.
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- J. Wiesner, Praehist. Zeitschr. 30-31, 382. Die

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Note 4.

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- In detail B. Lauf er, a. 0.223 note 3; J. J. M. De Groot, op. O. 1, 94.
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- A. Wylie, op. cit. O. 52.
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82 J. J. M. De Groot, a. 0. 1, 137.

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96 F. Hirth, a. OI . 108f.; J. J. M. De Groot, l. c. O. 2, 39 f.

96 J. J. M. De Groot, a. O. 2, 42.

97 J. Wiesner, op. cit. 90; W. P. Yetts, op. cit. 242f. "8 O. Siren, op. cit. 3, pl. 27; p. 17; W.P. Yetts,

a. O. 248f.; fig. 7. In contrast to Siren, who places the StuE ck under the Han, Yetts, perhaps rightly, thinks of a later date (a. 0. 248 note 1).

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- W. P. Yetts, a. 0. 328f.
- C. Diem, Asian Equestrian Games 132.
- E. SchaE fer gave me an impressive description of the appearance of the legendary General Ma, the "great horse" (J. GuE nther, Inside Asia 319f.; R. Waller, Innerasien im Ringen der MaE chte 65f.), who kept a particularly noble animal of the Hsining breed. It was almost twice the of the usual Ngolok horses.
- E. Chavannes, La sculpture sur pierre en Chine Pl. 38; 41; Halberds in Lou-lan: A. Conrady, op. cit. O. 135 no. 104; Halberds in Ferghana: F. Hirth, Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. 37, 95.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 271; fig. 67.
- B. Laufer, op. cit. O. 212f.; E. Chavannes, Documents chinois decouverts par A. Stein XVI; J. J. M. De Groot, a. 0.1, 278; 2, 39; finds of

"defensive armour in the shape of laquered scales of leather" in Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central- Asian Tracks 114.

- B. Laufer, a. 0. 267; W. Arendt, Zeitschr. f. histor. Waffen- und KostuE mkunde N.F.5, 28; F. Altheim, Helios und Heliodor von Emesa 33f.; differently B. Thordemann, Acta Archaeol. 4, 140; 143.
- Plate armour, splite armour: B. Laufer, 185

a. O. 258; B. Thordemann, op. cit. O. 117f.; above p. 24f.

- B. Laufer, a. 0. 262f.; 266f.
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- Tscbung Tsch'ang-t'ung in B. Laufer, l. c. 210; crossbow ammunition from the Tun-huang-Limes, i.e. used against the Huns, in Sir Aurel Stein, l. c. 181f ; Serindia 2, 751f ; Lou-lan in F. Bergman, Archeolog. O. 181f ; Serindia 2, 758f; finds from Lou-lan in F. Bergman, Archeolog. Researches in Sinkiang 163f.; crossbow bolts against horsemen: J. J. M. De Groot, l.c. O. 1, 233f.
- On the following O. Siren, op. O. 2, 91 f.; B. Thordemann, a.

O. 138.

- O. Franke, op. O. 1, 357; 395 et al.; 2, 29.
- B. Laufer, op. cit. O. 274f.; 306f. The lamellar armor of the T'ang period is most clearly seen in a painting by Wei-tschi I-seng, on which O. Siren, ArkaE ologiska Studier tillaE gnade H.

K. H. Kronprins Gustaf Adolf 372f.; B. Thordemann, a. 0. 138. 116 J. J. M. de Groot, a. 0. 1, 3; J. G. Anderson, Bull. Mus. Far East. Ant. 4, 274; B. Thordemann, a. O. 137.

- H. Appelgren-Kivalo, Ancient Altaic Art Monuments. Figs. 80-81; A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 183 fig. 12b-c; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 269f.; B. Thordemann, op. O. 137f.
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148; TheAnimal Style 107 note 2; attribution to the Avars: A. M. Tallgren in B. Thordemann, op. cit. O. 186 note 40.

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- G. Nioradze, op. cit. O. Pl. 12; R. Karnitz, Die VoE lker Nord- und Mittelasiens (Atlas der VoE lkerkunde 1) 17, 10; 41, 11;
43, 25-27; 31; 77, 12-13; 79, 14; see also K. Meuli, Hermes 70,

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- K. Meuli, op. cit. O. 147 note 8.
- G. Nioradze, op. cit. O. Pl. 16; pp. 16f.; cf. also B. Laufer, op. cit.

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- G. Nioradze, op. cit. O. 64.
- G. Nioradze, op. cit. O. 64.
- B. Laufer, op. cit. O. Pl. 35; 38.
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5B; 16A; 17A; 18; 24; 26B;27;31.

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183 0. Siren, op. cit. O. 3, Pl. 91 f.; M. Rostovtzeff, l. c. O. Pl. 31,6; Intern. Exhibition of Chin. Art, London 1935-36, no. 497; 509-511.
184 O. Sir6n, a. 0. 2, pl. 25 C; A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 187 fig. 16M.
185 L. Frobenius, Kulturgescb. Afrikas 83 f. with distribution map on p. 88.
386 G. Nioradze, op. cit. O. 39f., where further literature is given.
187 A. PaE pay, Samml. ostjakischer Volksdichtungen (3. Asiatische Reise des Grafen E. Zichy 5) 218f.
188 G. Nioradze, a. 0. 40.
189 On the following P. Pelliot, La haute Asie 8.
190 E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N. F. 8,117 and note 5.
191 M. Rostovtzeff, Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty Taf. 10, 2.
182 "Lion-griffon": M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style 100; Pl. 32, 2.

- A. Salmony, Sino-Siberian Art 9.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 83f.; L. Halphen, CAH. 12, 100f.; E. Minns, The Antiquar. Journ. 10, lf.
- A distribution map in J. Werner, Euras. Sept. Ant. 9, 265 Fig. 8 and in A. Salmony, op. O. Appendix. On the Hun Empire in the west J. J. M. De Groot, l.c. O. 1, 220 f.
- Most recently J. Werner, op. op. 226f.
- J. Werner, op. cit. O. 266. In addition, the grave of Pazyryk in the Altai: M. P. Griaznov, Amer. Journ. Arch. 37, 30f.; M. Rostovtzeff, Sem. Kondakov. 6,161 note 1 end; L. Morgenstern, Rev. des arts asiat. 10, 201 f.
- The aforementioned study by A. Salmony is fundamental to this.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 90f.; O. Siren, op. cit. O. Pl. 23f.; C. Hentze, Artibus Asiae 2, 125 figs. 1-4.
- W p Yetts, Burlington Magazine 1926, 168f.; G. Boroffka, AA. 1926, 341 f.
- A. AlfoE ldi, AA. 1931, 404f.; Altheim-Trautmann, Germania 1941, 351 f.
- A. AlfoE ldi, op. cit. O. 390f.; G. Andersson, Bull. Mus. Far East. Ant. 4, 221 f.

- M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. Pl. 16, 2; 29, 3.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Artibus Asiae 4, 112f.; Sem. Kondakov. 6, 166; A. Salmony, Sino-Siberian Art 61.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 271; fig. 67.
- Prokop./b. Vand. 1, 18, 18; MaooaY^ai = OoE vvoi 1,pi,|10; ßpwoig der Tiere im spaE teren Griechisch: L. Mitteis, Griech. Urk. der Papyrus-Slg. Leipzig 1 Nr. 118, 11.
- Procopius, b. Pers. 1,3, 5 ftrjpioo ßiog. Prokop excludes only the White Huns. Likewise the biography of Pan Jong in Hou Han shu, translated by E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N. F. 7, 249: the Hiung-nu are "seinblables aE des betes sauvages".
- Altheim-Trautmann, op. cit. O. 354f.
- A. AlfoE ldi, op. cit. O. 399f.; K. Kerenyi, Mnemosyne 1939, 161 f.
- B. Laufer, op. cit. O. 223f.
- J. J. M. De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 3.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 95.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 95f.
- S. Lemaitre, Rev. des arts asiat. 10, 132 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 98f.; Mon. Piot 26, 130 f.

218 L. Morgenstern, Rev. des arts asiat. 10, 201 f.; Pl. 69, 2-4.

- M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style 99. A. Salmony, Sem. Kondakov. 6, 161 f. has rightly eliminated a series of daring bar .
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 99f.; Inlaid Bronzes Pl. 14; O. Siren, a. OI . 2, 64f.; Pl. 79f.

218a M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style 103.

- J. Kitayama, West-Eastern Encounter36f.
- H. Haslund-Christensen, Jabonah 52f. 188
- C. Diem, Asian Equestrian Games 30f.
- UI translated by A. Wylie, Journ. Anthrop. Instit. 10, 54; J. J. M. De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 235.
- According to C. Diem, op. cit. O. 114.
- C. Diem, op. cit. O. 115f.
- C. Diem, op. cit. O. 146.
- Former collection of G. Eumorfopulos, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- C. Diem, op. cit. O. 146.
- ß. Laufer, The Early History of Polo, S.-A. from Polo 1932, No. 5 (April).

22" J. Kitayama, Western-Eastern Encounter32f, using his formulations.

- J. Kitayama, op. cit. O. 46.

- They may have included the wagon-right bar and drawbar ends, which A. Salmony, Sem. Kondakov. 6, 131f. Nomadic chariots (chariots?) on Siberian bronze plaques in A. Salmony, Sino-Siberian Art Pl. 21,3-4.

232 J. J. M. De Groot, op. O. 1, 38; 104; 136.

233 J. J. M. De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 130.

234 To avoid any misunderstandings, it should be noted that

"barbaric" is not used in the sense of a value judgment, but merely to denote the contrast to advanced and ancient civilizations. Today's language lacks a suitable word for this

285 The analogy to Rome: Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 2, 743; L. Halphen, CAH, 12,104.

236 Most recently F. Bergman, Archeological Researches in Sinkiang: Bd. VII der SinoSwedish Expedition unter Sven Hedin.

287 F. Bergman, op. O. 165 note 1.

238 M. P. Charlesworth, Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire2 98 f.; also N. C. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia 203 note 1; silk and silk weaving in Iran E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 122 f.

239 Tac, ann. 2, 60, 5; N. C. Debevoise, op. op. 203f.

240 At the price of silk still SHA. v. Aar. 45, 2.

241 A. Herrmann, The Land of Silk 89f.

242 Hou Han shu ch. 118, translated by E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N.F. 8, 178.

212a M. Rostovtzeff,Melanges Glotz 810 note 1. 243 1, 12, 8.

2" A. Herrmanri, op. cit. O. 101 f.; Sir Aurel Stein,

On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 292 f. 215 Sir Aurel Stein, a.

O. 295, places it in the vicinity of Chat near Daraut-Kurghan in the Karategin valley. 2" From the Ts'ien Han shu, translated by F. Hirth, Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. 37, 109; cf. 100; cf. Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 24. 2" Hou Han shu ch..118, translated by E.

Chavannes, T'oung-Pao N. F. 8, 156. 248 Translated by A. Wylie, Journ. Anthrop. Instit. 10, 23; even more detailed in Hou Han shu ch. 98 in E. Chavannes, op. cit. O. 217.

24° Mentioned in the biography of Ts'in Tang in Ts'ien Han shu, in A. Wylie, op. cit. O. 60. 25<> Hou Han shu ch. 118, translated by E.

Chavannes, T'oung Pao N. F. 8, 216 f. 261 J. J. M. De Groot, a.

O. 1, 149.

- J. J. M. De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 240.
- J. J. M. De Groot, op. O. 1, 190f. 864 O. Franke, op. cit. O. 1, 241 f.

255 UI translated by A. Wylie, op. cit. O. 22.

256 Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 2, 741 f.; A. Wylie, op. cit. O. 10, 25. - '

257 Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 140.

258 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 172; cf. 188; Serindia 2, 724f.; E.

Chavannes, Documents chinois decouverts par A. Stein Vif.

259 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 162.

260 E. Chavannes, a. O. VII; Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 2, 726f.; Innermost Asia 1, 343f.
261 Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 176; 182; Serindia 7, 729; E. Chavannes, op. cit. O. VII.
262 Sir Aurel Stein, Innermost Asia 1, 180f;

3 Plan 10. 268 Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 3, 710 f. 264 Summarizing the construction Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 2, 736f.
189

265 Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 175; 179; 185; J. J. M. De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 90.
268 E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N. F. 7. 227; 244; 8,167; J. J. M.
De Groot, op. cit. O. 1, 39f.
287 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 180; Serindia 2, 752. 268 J.
J. M. De Groot, op. O. 2, 53.
289 On this and the following: A. Conrady, Die chines. Handschriften- und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan 16f.; E. Chavannes, Documents Chinois decouverts par A. Stein VIIf. To summarize: A. Herrmann, Lou-lan (1931).
270 For an overview, see F. Bergman, a. 0. 40.
271 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 138; Hirth Anniversary Volume 368; Serindia 373 f.
272 C. G. Seligmann, Antiquity 1937, 16f.; C. Seligmann and
H. C. Beck, Bull. Mus. Far East. Ant. 10, lf.; cf. Amer. Journ. Arch. 1939, 122f.
273 An example in Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 183; cf. Innermost Asia 3, Pl. 30f.
CHAPTER III:
1 H. Krane, Geist. Arb. 1938, no. 18, 1 f.; Antike 1939, 193; F. Miltner, Klio 27, 61f.

- Most recently H. KraE he, Welt als Gesch. 3, 291 f.; E. Norden, Altgermanien 268 f.
- L. Malten, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 29, 38f.
- H. KraE he, op. cit. O. 287f.; v. Duhn-Messerschmidt, Ital. GraE berkde. 2, 3; 20f.; L. Malten, op. O. 37 f.
- Altheim-Trautmann, Italien und die Dor. Wanderung (Albae Vigiliae 5) 30f.; F. Altheim, Italien u. Rom 1, 31 f.

8 F. Altheim, op. O. 1, 33f., where the older literature is given.
7 G. Bersu, Vorgesch. Jahrb. 3, lf.; H. Seger, Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 11, 280.
8 Scythian arm ring and two gold ingots in bird song: H. Seger, a. 0.14,176; handle part of an akinake from PlohmuE hle, Kr.
274 F. Cumont, CAH. 11, 628; L'Egypte des astrologues 91; cf. O. Falke, Kunstgesch. der Seidenweberei 13f.; Sir Aurel Stein, Innermost Asia 3, Pl. 76 f.

275 Fundamental A. GruE nwedel, Altbuddhist. KultstaE tten. 278 A. v. Le Coq, Manich. Miniaturen (1923); F. Cumont, Recherches sur le Manicheisme 70 note 2; Bidez-Cumont, Les mages hellenises 1, 70; H. H. Schaeder, Vortr. Warburg 1924-25, 91 note 2.
277 Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 2, 753; On Ancient Central Asian Tracks 188.
278 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 1, 407; op. cit. 139; 140.
279 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 94; 99.
280 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 27; 88; 94.
281 Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. O. 119.
282 Sir Aurel Stein, Serindia 1, 408; 426f.; Innermost Asia 1,
189; On Ancient CentralAsian Tracks 140; 149.
283 An example in Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 140.
THE GODS
Strehlau: W. Ginters, The Sword of the Scythians and Sarmatians
28. 9M. v. Roska, Euras. Sept. Ant. 11, 167f.; O. Floca, Sargetia 1, 57f.; uE ber Bulgarien B. Filow, Euras. Sept. Ant. 11, 203.
10 Herod. 4,116, 1; M. Ebert, Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 13, 61; M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 33; 113f.
11 The equation is supported by M. Ebert, l.c. O. 61; M. Vasmer, ibid. 12, 237; K. Kretschmer, RE. 1A, 2542f.; J. Junge, Klio Beih. 41, 9 note 2; 73f. On the linguistic aspect, P.
Kretschmer, Glotta 24, 13. Anders M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u.
d. Bosporus 1, 100f.; 118; The Animal Style 44f.; CAH. 11, 91 (on p. 93 a concession to the equation of Sauromatians and Sarmatians). On M. Rostovtzeff's arguments
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nor F. Altheim, Welt als Gesch. 2, 318 note 24.
12 Polyb. 26, 6, 13; M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 9, 220. The approach of the Sarmatian migration as late as the 3rd century (M. Ebert, l.c. 99; M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 115) seems to me.
13 Strabon 7 p. 311; 318; P. Kretschmer, op. cit. O. 14f.; A.
AlfoE ldi, CAH. 11, 80.
14 B. Latyshev, Inscr. ant. orae septentr. ponti Eux. 1, no. 16.
15 F. StaE helin, Festschr. Th. PluE ß 46f.; 64f. i" F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 49.
17 M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1,
609; CAH. 11, 94. is Strabon 11 p. 506. i" M. Rostovtzeff, CAH.
11, 94; cf. 102.

- A. v. Gutschmidt, Gesch. Iran und seiner NachbarlaE nder 69; W. W. Tarn, CAH. 9, 585; M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 123.
- M. Vasmer, Iranier in SuE drußland 29f.;Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 12, 242.
- H. J acobsohn, Aryans and Ugrofins 233; 257.

- A. v. Gutschmidt, op. cit. O. 68; F. Hirth, China and the Roman Orient 139 note 1; the translation from the Wei lio in E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N.F. 6, 558f.
- Most recently E. H. Minus, The Antiquar. Journal 10, lf.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1, 563 note 1;

601; M. Ebert, l.c. O. 13, 106; Pl. 40 Cb.

- M. Rostovtzeff, a. 0.1, 601; L'Asie Centrale, la Russie, la Chine et le style animal Taf. 11; also a gold coin of Kadphises II. in the British Museum (not in P. Gardner,

The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India 1886) shows such a two-wheeled chariot on the AV.

- M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1, 579 note 1;

Yale Class. Stud. 5, 222; CAH. 11, 100.

- M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style 107 note 2; A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 179 and fig. 6.

28a M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1,

577f.; W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Milit. and Naval Developments 75 note 1.

- M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. 1, 588 note 1.
- Chr. Dawson, Die Entstehung des Abendlandes 96; M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style 79f.; 107 note 2.
- L. Schmidt, Die Ostgermanen 287; F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 67 f. E. Petersen on the development of the people in H. Reinerth, Vorgeschichte der deutschen StaE mme 3, 878f.; 888f.
- Pomp. Trogus, prolog. 28; on this A. AlfoE ldi, CAH. 11, 81.
- Demetrios of Kallatis at Ps.-Skymnos 797; Ed. Schwartz, RE. 4, 2806f.; L. Schmidt, op. O. 87f.; F. StaE helin, l.c. O. 56f.; H. Jacobsohn, ZdA. 66, 237.
- Line 108f.; see F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 50; 56f.; E.Norden,Die german.Vorgesch. inTacitus' Germania 79 Anm. 4; differently H. Jacobsohn, l.c. O. 236.
- W. HuE lle in G. Kossinna, Die deutsche Vorgesch. 290f.; cf. 164; 170; L. Schmidt, l.c. 82; 87 f., where further literature is given in 82 note 3 and 88 note 2; G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 60; E. Petersen, op. O. 3, 897; 900; 916f.; 934 f.

35a E. Petersen, op. O. 3, 873f. 38 F. StaE
helin, l.c. O. 57; 69.

87 Liv. 40, 57 f.

88 Liv. 41, 19, 7-8.

39 Polyb. 26, 9; Liv. 41, 19, 4-5.

40 Liv. 41, 19, 7f.; 23, 12; Oros. 4, 20, 34f. Th.

Mommsen, RG. I10, 760; B. Niese, Gesch. d. griech. u. maked.

States 3, 101; F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 68; on the Danube crossing

P. Kretschmer, op. cit. O. 4f.

- For details, see F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 69.

- F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 71 f.; F. Altheim, Welt als Gesch. 2, 324f.
- F. StaE helin, op. cit. O. 71 f.
- Liv. 44, 26, 2f.; Plut., Pauli. 12, 4f.; Diod. 30, 19; 31, 14;

Appian., Mac. 18, 2f.

- L. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 93 f.

48 Tacit, Germ. 46; Strabon 7 p. 296. On the soil finds L. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 96 note 5, where C. Daicoviciu, Le probleme de la conti

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nuite en Dacie 12 note 1 should be added. 46a E. Petersen,

a. 0. 3, 934.

47 A. AlfoE ldi, CAH. 11, 89; P. Bienkowski, De simulacris barbarorum gentium apud Romanos 70; L. Schmidt, a. O. 93 note 6; P. PaE rvan, Getica 106; 140; 506; R. Vulpe, Hist. anc.

de la Dobroudja 151 note 4.

48 On the following C. Daicoviciu, Le probleme de la continuite en Dacie llf.; especially 12 note 1.

40 yj xwv Tsxwv £pYj|ua Strabon7p. 305; Brandis, RE. 4, 1953.

50 G. G. Mateescu, Ephem. Dacorom. 2, 223f.; A. AlfoE ldi, CAH. 11, 79.

51 M. Ebert, SuE drußland im Altertum 362 f.

52 Tacit. Germ. 46: connubiis mixtis noiijnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.

53 W. Schulz, Germania 13, 139f.; 142; cf. B. v. Richthofen, Altschlesien 3, 21f.; M. Jahn, Mannus 24, 150f. and in H. Reinerth, op. cit. O. 3, 962.

54 L. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 100f.; also E. Petersen, Acta Arch. 3, 47f;

M. Jahn in H. Reinerth, op. O. 3, 164f.; W. Schulz, Kartogr. Darstellungen zur altgerman. Religionsgesch. 19 f.

548 A distribution map Mannus 22, 288 SB Plutarch,

Mar. 25, 10.

56 Iron armor Plutarch, Demetr. 21, 4, where, however, the context shows that this is a special case. A later : P. Post, Zeitschr. f. hist. Waffen-

u. KostuE mkde. 5, 38f.

57 M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1, index under

"Tanks.

53 E. Maschke, Zeitschr. Dte. Philol. 51, 170f.

- E. Maschke, op. cit. O. 170.
- Plutarch, Mar. 25, 10.
- F. Drexel, Arch. Jahrb. 1915, 11; W. A. v. Jenny, Keltische

Metallarbeiten Taf. 23.

- F. Drexel, op. cit. O. 22f.
- F. Drexel, op. cit. O. 14f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 43f.; Recueil Kondakoff 239f.;

Artibus Asiae 4, 107f.; W. A. v. Jenny, op. cit. O. 22.

- F. Drexel, op. cit. O. 31 f.; M. Jahn in H. Reinerth, l. c. O. 3, 956.

- Altheim-Trautmann, Vom Ursprung der Runen 42f. - W. Krause writes the latest^ (Germanien 1941,463 note 8),

"that in all probability the runic script originated around 100 BC under the influence of the northern Italian letters of the Alpine region on the outermost edge of the Germanic world and there penetrated westwards along the Rhine and onwards via north-western Germany and Jutland to Scandinavia". Krause thus assumes the date and path of the takeover as represented by G. Baesecke (Vor- u. FruE hgesch. d. dtsch. Schriftt. 1, 96f.), and previously by E. Trautmann and myself (V. Urspr. d. Run. 42 f.; 89 f.; Klio 31,58f.). He only has reservations about the Cimbri as mediators or victims of the Futhark, cf. W. Krause in R. Pittioni, Paul und Braunes BeitraE ge 1940, 330). But

The Marcomanni, or more correctly the Suebi, whom he thinks of as neighbors of the Helvetii (GoE tt. Gel. Anz. 1940, 188), had penetrated the area south of the Main no earlier than 80 BC: E. Norden, Altgerm. 144; G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 56. At this time, however, the North Italian alphabet had already died out (Vom Urspr. d. Run. 28). This is shown by the inscriptions of Persona, which lie just on the southern extension of the connection between Main and Helvetia assumed by Krause (J. Whatmough, The Prae-Italic Dialects 2, 177f. No. 314 to 320;

520). Furthermore, I know of no evidence the Helvetii adopted the North Italian alphabet, which would been the prerequisite for a transmission to the Mainuebs.

- F. Drexel, op. cit. O. 36.
- L. Schmidt, Germania 23, 262 f.
- G. SchuE tte, Our forefathers 2, 152; G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 56. The latest Hermundur finds from the Middle Elbe region inTh. Voigt, Mitteldeutsche Volkheit 8, 2 f.
- h. Schmidt, Die Westgermanen l2, 158f.; 160 f. From Aquincum, Valentinian I

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in 375 against the Quades: Amm.Marc. 30, 5, 13f.; St. Paulovics, 6. Intern. Kongr. f. ArchaE ol. Berlin 1939, 526f. n On the following F. Altheim, Die Soldatenkaiser 74 f.

72 Amm. Marc. 17, 13, 4.

73 A. Sauvageot, Dicouverte de la Hongrie 25.

74 G. Wissowa, RuKdR.2 303 note 2; Roscher's Myth. Lex. 2,

2027; F. Cumont, D. oriental. Relig.3 199; 319 note 18-19; F. Altheim, Italien und Rom l2, 43 f.

76 H. HorvaE th, Ung. Jahrb. 16, 25 f.

76 H. HorvaE th, Transdanubia as an art-historical province (Bibl. dell'Academia d'Ungheria di Roma 5).

77 K. Tolnay, La peinture hongroise contemporaine, Pannonia KoE nyvtaE r 33, 3.

78 J. Werner, Welt als Gesch. 1939, 390. "UI ber die Herkunft der Kesthely-Kultur: A.
AlfoE ldi, Untergang der RoE merherrschaft in Pannonien 2, lf.; Euras. Sept. Ant. 9, 285f.; N. Fettich, Archaeol. Hungar. 1, 58f.; Recueil Kondakoff 81 f. 80 B. Homann, Gesch. d. ungar. Mittelalter 1,
Ulf.
80a Distribution of the Pechenegs: G. Rassovsfcy, Sernin. Kondakov. 6, 64 map.
8* UI on the finds of N. Fettich in M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1, 494f.

- Summarizing A. AlfoE ldi, 6th Internat. Kongr. f. ArchaE ol. Berlin 1939, 536f.; also C. Daicoviciu, Apulum 1, 3 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 95; A. AlfoE ldi, ibid. 85.
- Plin., n. h. 4, 80; A.AlfoE ldi, 6th Intern.Congr. f. ArchaE ol.

Berlin 1939, 532.

- A. AlfoE ldi, op. cit. O. 535f.
- J. KovaE cs, Dolgozatok 5, 120.
- V. Hild, Arch. ErtesitoE 1901, 120f.; I am to A. AlfoE ldi for the reference to the quotation.
- Tac, ann. 12, 29; L. Schmidt, op. O. 189.
- W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiliarformationen 30 f.
- Arrian, tact. 4, 2.
- Arrian, 1. c. 4, 2.

"2 Arrian. 1. c. 4, 2; 7.
93 Cf. amm. Marc. 17, 12, 2.
94 A. AlfoE ldi, 6th Intern. Congr. f. ArchaE ol. Berlin 1939, 536.
95 Amm. Marc. 17, 12, 2.
"8 B. Laufer, Chinese Clay Figures 1, 191f;
further parallels 191 note 4. 97 L. Franz, 18th Ber. RoE m.-
Germ. commiss. 126. 93 L. Franz, op. O. 126.
99 Amm. Marc. 17, 12, 21; 31, 2, 23; daggers and swords side by side also among the Sasanids (E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 66) and in East Turkestan (A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas z. Kunst-u. Kulturgesch. Mittelasiens 15f.; 17f.). where Amm. Marc. 17, 12, 3; Arrian. tact. 44, 1. ioi Amm. Marc. 17, 12, 2. i°2 Amm. Marc. 17, 12, 1. los J. Dobias, Transact. Internat. Numism.
Congr. 1936, 169 f. i°4 Hieronym., adv. Jov. 2, 7. los Amm.
Marc. 17, 12, 2. where E. Maaß, Rhein. Mus. 74, 469; P. Kretsch
mer, Glotta 16, 191; 20, 248. 107 Amm. Marc. 17, 12, 13
stantes curvatis corporibus; G. Kossinna, Die deutsche Vorgeschichte 241. i°8 L. Schmidt, a. O. I2, 162. 10" On the following SHA., v. Marci 22, 1; Eutrop. 8, 13, 1. On this A. v. Domaszewski, Serta HarteUana, 8f.;L. Schmidt, a. 0.163. no UI about their seats A. AlfoE ldi, op. O. 530f.;
CAH. 11, 85 note 3. in A. v. Premerstein, KuE o 12, 139f.; RE.

11, 1504f.
ua SHA., v. Marci 14, 1. 113 W.Weber,CAH. 11,350f.;Rome,ruler
tum u. Reich 308f. "4 G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 62; G. MuE ller- Kuales in H. Reinerth, Vorgesch. d. dt. StaE mme 3, 1149; on VaE stergoE tland E. Count Oxenstierna in a Berne lecture: Dtsch. Allg. Ztg. vom 14. 2. 1941.
115 Altheim-Trautmann, Vom Ursprung der Runen 81 f.; W. Krause, GoE tt. Gel. Anz. 1941,188; differently A.Nord6n, Runenberichte
193

I, 59f., but I do not see that it has met with approval.
110 W. Krause, Runic inscription in aE according to Futhark
183f.; further p. 41 above.
117 Hist. Brit. in Chron. Min., ed. Th. Mommsen 3, 171: tres ciulae.
118 Jord., Get. 17, 4.
119 R. Much in Th. Hoops, Reallex. d. germ. Altertumskde. 2, 8.
120 K. B. Wiklund, Indog. Forsch. 38, 48f.; H. Jacobsohn, Arier und Ugrofinnen 60 f.
121 G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 62; G. MuE ller-Kuales, op. O. 1150.
122 G. Ekholm, op. cit. On the occurrence of the Nordic race further , in the area south of the Gulf of Finland: M. Ebert, Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 1, 342; G. Ekholm, op. cit. O. 65; cf. 67.
123 Ptolem., geogr. 3, 5, 8; on the seats of the Finns K. MuE, Dtsch. Altertumskunde 2, 39f.; 67f.; Ihm, RE. 6, 2186; M. A. Castren, Ethnol. VoE ries, uE b. d. altaischen VoE lker 89f.; W. Sommer, Geschichte Finnlands lf.; K. B. Wiklund, Reallex. d. Vorgesch.3,369f.; G.Ekholm, CAH. 11,66f.
124roE oE -a)veg Ptolem., 1. c; L. Schmidt, Ostgermanen2 195. 125 H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 222f.; differently K. B. Wiklund, l. c. O. 369.

- A. AlfoE ldi, Altschlesien 5, 267f.; Ant. Darstellg. z. Kenntnis d. Culture of the herdsmen

II The assumption of a Hellenistic original does not seem certain to me. The accuracy of Tacitus' information about the Aestii and Finns (Germ. 45-46; see G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 66f.) remains . The opening of the Amber Road to the Baltic coast in Neronian times (Plin., n. h. 37,45) provides the explanation (G. Ekholm, l.c. 65). The account will also go back to the same event. Hellenistic is the difference between the stuE ck at
O. Rubensohn, Hellenist. SilbergeraE te in antiken GipsabguE ssen 36f. mit der rennticrmelkenden Nomadenfrau. On the dating F. Hauser, OI sterr. Jahresh. 8, 83 f.

- L. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 196; discovery of a humpbacked hood in the Vistula estuary: G. MuE ller- Kuales, l.c. O. 1152.
- On the following L. Schmidt, a. 0. 200f.; W. Weber, CAH. 11, 350f.; Rome, Herrschertum u. Reich 308 f.
- Jord., Get. 4, 27f.
- UI ber germ. *avi- P. Kretschmer, Glotta 24, 7.

- K. MuE llenhoff in the glossary of Th. Mommsen's Jordanes edition 163.
- F. Specht, KZ. 66, 224f.; ZdA. 78, 141 note 3; on the age of the schism G. MuE ller-Kuales, l.c. O. 1166.
- Spalaei: Plin, n. h. 6, 22.
- K. MuE, op. cit. O. 165; L. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 199.
- On the following M. Ebert, Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 13, 112f.
- G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 65f.
- M. Ebert, op. cit. O. 113 Pl. 43C right; G. MuE ller-Kuales, l.c. O. 1169.
- J. KovaE cs, Dolgozatok 3, 250f.
- M. Ebert, op. cit. O. 112.
- Arntz-Zeiß, The at home. Runic lore of the mainland 23 f.
- Arntz-Zeiß, op. cit. If W. Krause, Germanien 1941, 462f. wants to attribute the spearhead to a 3rd-century Goth who migrated back, he has the fact that the finds of Roman coins in southern Sweden, eastern Prussia, Poland, southwestern Russia and Moldavia, which begin with the emperor Marcus, break off with the death of Septimus Severus. See Shetelig-Falk, Scandinavian Archeology 201 f.; further literature on finds in F. Altheim, Germanien 1939, 55£; Die Soldatenkaiser 79f.; C. Daicoviciu, Le probleme de la continuite en Dacie 48 note 3. This eliminates the only evidence, for a return migration during the 3rd century. On p. 463 it should be noted that other researchers place the original home of the Slavs south of the Pripet , on the upper Dniester (most recently G. Ekholm, CAH.
194
11, 66; J. Wiesner, Germanien 1942, 221 note 31).

1" With this approach (cf. Germanien 1939, 50f.; 55f.; Rhein. Mus. 90, 205f.) I find myself in agreement with C. Daicoviciu, Le probleme de la continuite en Dacie 48 note 3; W.Weber, CAH. 11, 350f.; Rom, Herrschertumund Reich 308f.; L. Schmidt, l.c. 198f.; F. Specht, KZ. 66, 224; W. Enßlin, Rhein. Mus. 90, 14.
- 120 km ono. from Bombay; W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India 2 54 f.
- St. Konow, Joum. R. Asiat. Society 1912, 379f.; A. v. Premerstein, ZdA. 60, 72f.; R. Sittig, Scritti in onore di B. Nogara 472; doubts in W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 257 note 2.
- W.W. Tarn, op. cit. 417 f. W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 342; 506.
- On the time approach W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 352; N. E. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia 68 note 40.
- Alarm clock, RE. 9, 1376.
- Sir Aurel Stein, On Alexanders Track to the Indus 17 f. 180 Sir Aurel Stein, op. O. Fig. 23; 38f.

151 J. Hackin, L'oeuvre de la delegation archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan l, 4f.; J. J. Barthoux, Les fouilles de Hadda 1-3.

152 J. Hackin, op. cit. O. 1, 19f.; A. Godard, Y. Godard and J. Hackin, Les antiquites bouddhiquesdeBamiyaE nl(no longer published).
163 J. Hackin, op. cit. O. 58f.; M. Fouchet, Notes sur 1'Afghanistan 131 f.
154 J. Hackin, op. cit. O. 63f.
155 H. H. Schaeder, ZDMG. 75, 275.
166 11p. 506 lxPU00(P6P0UV Su* T*lv ^lAn0Ptav
157 E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N.F. 6, 558; 8, 195f.; M.
Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 94.
158 Amm. Marc. 31, 2, 16.
159 Northern trade route, the denial of which I have given to W. W. Tarn, a. O. 488f., cannot be admitted.
160 A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 176 describes Kazakhstan, north of the Caspian Sea, almost as a
"migration corridor".
161 J. Strzygowski, Altai, Iran and the migration of peoples 276.
162 M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 93f.
162a^ Vasmer, Unters, uE ber d. aE lt. Wohnsitze d. Slaven 1, 25 f.
163 H. Jacobsohn, a. 0. 234.
"4 M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 95; 97.

- SAH., v. Marci 22, 1; v. Pii 5, 5; Ptolem., geogr. 2, 13, 2: Alans in Noricum. See J. Junge, Sakastudien 79.
- L. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 200.

16V F. Altheim, Rhein. Mus. 90, 192f. The essay by E. Hohl, Klio 34, 264f., is, as I expressly note, still written without knowledge of my listings. It is therefore unnecessary to go into detail. It should only be noted in principle that H. regards the biographer of Maximin as a falsifier from the outset. He thus presupposes what be proven. I maintain that each message must be examined individually for its value. That is the only way to separate value from invention and, if you like, falsification.

- jyj Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 147f.; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 192; 268; 298; Mon. Piot 6, 137 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 97.
- M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 97; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 169; 175. "i Boll. Comm. Arch. 40, 112 no. 28; B. Latyshev, Inscr. orae sept. Ponti Eux. 2, 296 no. 862; CIL. 6, 5207; M.
Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 96 note 2.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 216f.
- UI on the latest excavations: Amer. J ourn. Arch. 1939, 121f.; duration of imperial : l.c. 122; M. Rostovtzeff, l.c. O. 217; cf. Yale Class. Stud. 5, 198 note 47.
- Summarizing E.Diehl,RE.7A, 1850f.; uE ber den Fall von Tyras 1862; Zos. 1, 42, 1 it is in Gothic hands. Excavations: P. Nicorescu, Ephem. Dacoromana 2, 378f.

- M. Ebert, SuE drußland im Altert. 228; A. AlfoE ldi, CAH. 12, 142; M. Rostovtzeff,

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Yale Gass. Stud. 5, 192; L. Schmidt, op. O. 210.

- Diptych of Orestes (N 32) with portrait shields of Athalarich and Amalasunta from the year 530: R. Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen 148f.; Pl. 32; coins since Theodahad: W. Wroth, Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Lombards Pl. 9f;

F. J. Kraus, D. MuE nzen Odovacars und d. Ostgotenreich in Italien (MuE nzstudien, ed. by M. v. Bahrfeldt and H. Buchenau 5) Pl. 9, 29 f.

- UI on the gold medallion of Theodoric the Great ' most recently F. v. Lorentz, Rom. Mitt. 50, 341 f., who cites the literature on p. 341 note 1.
- I am indebted to R. Delbrueck for the complete communication of the pictorial and literary material. I also owe him the evaluation and derivation of the ornament. J. Kollwitz me with further help in a never-failing willingness to help.
- A rich collection of examples in N. Belaev, Recueil Kondakoff 201 f.
- Mithras on the monument to Antiochos X of Commagene on the Nemrud Dagh: F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien 56; Excavations at Dura-Europos 1930-1, Pl. 18,1-2; 19,1;

20, 2; 1933/4-1934/5, Pl. 13, 3-4; 14, 1; 15-17; F. Cumont,

Les fouilles de Doura-Europos Pl. 98, 1-2.

- G. Mendel, Musee Ottoman, Catal. des sculpt. 2, 398 ill.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, figs. 51; 51a; 57; in addition

S. 251.

- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. l.c. 190f.; fig. 31.
- Cf. Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, pl. 42, 1 (equestrian figure on the right).
- A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst- und Kulturgesch. Mittelasiens 39 Fig. 8 left.
- R. Delbrueck, op. cit. O. 149.
- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 40f.; figs. 9 and 11.
- J. Strzygowski, Altai, Iran und VoEkerwanderung 262 Fig. 208. Not a "musician", but a sword , cf.

E. Herzfeld, At the Gate of Asia 68.

*89 J. Strzygowski, op. cit. O. 263; Orient. Lit.-Ztg. 7, 50; G. Vambery, Gesch. Bucharas 16.

- E. Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 81 f.
- Amelung, RE. 3, 2207; also F. Hauser, OI sterr. Jahresh. 6,

88 Note 11.

- Hesych. s. v. xavSug.
- Xenoph., Hell. 2, 1, 8; Cyrup. 8, 3, 10.

- Polluxl,58;Xenoph.,Kyrup. 1,3,2; 8,3,13.
- Procopius, b. Goth. 1, 29, 5; 2, 30, 17 etc.; cf. 4, 31, 18.
- Pollux 7, 70.
- Amelung, op. cit. O. 2208.
- J. Kollwitz, Ostrom. Plastik d. theodos. Zeit 26 note 1; G. Bruns, Der Obelisk auf dem Hippodrom 40 f., esp. note 20; fig. 43; R. Delbrueck, op. cit. O. Pl. 69.
- E. H, Minus, Scythians and Greeks 197 Fig. 90 center.
- E. H. Minns, op. cit. O. 200 fig. 93; 201 fig. 94.
- F. Sarre, Die Kunst d. alten Persien fig. 66, 2; 3; 16; 18.
- M. Rostovtzeff, a. 0.190; fig. 31 top. Center.
- A. AlfoE ldi, Acta Archaeol. 5, 110.
- F. Sarre, op. cit. op. cit. 66, 3; 12; 14; A. AlfoE ldi, op. cit. 103 fig. 4b;

W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia Taf. 8, 1-9; 21, 2;
24, 5-7; 26, 3-4; 8-15; 29, 15-18; 33, 1-4; 34, 1-7; 35, 14-15;
36, 1-4; 7-15; M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 231. 205 W.
Arendt, Zeitschr. f. hist. Waffen- und KostuE mkunde
N.F. 5, 27 Fig. 1-2.

- M. Ebert, PraE hist. Zeitschr. 1, 163f.; W. Arendt, op. O. 26 Pl. 4.
- On this W. Arendt, op. cit. O. 28 fig. 3; R. Delbrueck, Antike Porphyrwerke 218; pl. 103 - The occurrence of the clasp helmet among the legionaries seems to rule out the possibility that the reliefs of the tropaeum of Adamclisi belong to the Trajanic period. As the dedicatory inscription shows, the original building is Trajanic; some of the decorative friezes are also Trajanic. But the rest, like the reliefs, must date to a later restoration. The monument, like the city of Tropaeum itself, will have suffered greatly in the of the 3rd century.

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used. It was then, again like the city (R.Vulpe, a. 0. 292L), extensively renewed under Licinius in 316. Older reliefs that had been damaged may have been used as models. The bound Bastarne appears to be a transposition of a relief in the style of the Hadrianeum (E. Strong, SculturaRomana 2,237f.; J.M. C. Toynbee, The Hadrianic School Pl. 34f.) into the style of the Constantinian period. The tropaeum produced was a 'pastiche' of older and contemporaneous works such as the Arch of Constantine, which to the same years.

- Procopius, b. Goth. 4, 32, 18.
- Theoph. z. J. 544; pag. 228DeBoor. On the kamelaukion M. BaE rany-Oberschall, Arch. Hung. 22, 83.
- Prokop., 1. c 18.
- Wroth, Coins of the Vandals etc. Pl. 11, 29; 30 (?); F. J. Kraus, op. O. Pl. 13, 62-63 RV. The correspondence is all the more remarkable as both Procopius, b. Goth. 4, 32,18, as well as on the , is Totila.
- Dio 68, 9, 1; Dio Chrysost. 72, 3; Jord., Get. 5, 40; 11, 71;

C. Daicoviciu, Le probleme de la continuite en Dacie 14f.; A. AlfoE ldi, CAH. 11, 89.

- C. Daicoviciu, op. cit. O. 12 note 1.
- Jord., Get. 11, 71. On the question K. Helm, Altgerm. Religionsgesch. 2, 1, 49.
- Poll. 7, 58. Likewise the Palmyrenes, where even the pilos is found with a border: M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities Pl. 23, 1.
- Suid. 4,131,1 Adl.; further in Netoliczka, RE. 11, 379.
- Netoliczka, op. cit. O. 379.
- On the following F. Cumont, Fouilles de Doura-Europos 267f.; Pl. 99, 2; M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. op. 193 fig. 1; 196.
- F. Sarre, op. O. 66, 9.
- Jord., Get. 11, 71 tyaris, quos pilleos alio nomine nuncupamus.
- E. Herzfeld, Arch. Hist. of Iran 80 Fig. 10.
- F. Hackin, L'oeuvre de la delegation franq. en Afghanistan fig. 39 B; 55B; a pilos fig. 38.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art Taf. 14, 1.
- N. P. Toll, Recueil Kondakoff 93 f. 226 F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 57;

M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 231; 241.

- UI on the mXoc aE oxepuE ttoE s M. Rostovtzeff, Journ. Hell. Stud. 39, 89f.; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 231; 241.

226a q y. Hill, Catal. of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia Pl. 13-14; 16-17 (Edessa); 34-37 (Persis); 41; 53
(Elymais); 47 (sub-characenian).

- R. Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen 149. 227a S. Fuchs, Die Frau. Supplement to the Frankf.

Ztg. 31. 8.42, p. 1. 227b note 208-209.

- R. Delbrueck, op. cit. 149.
- Qussejr 'Amra, ed. by the Kaiserl. Akademie d. Wiss. Wien 1-2; E. de Lorey, Ars Islamica 1, 34; on the present state of the fresco Jaussen-Savignac, Mission archeol. en Arabie 3, 89; on the inscriptions 97 f.
- E. v. Sacken, Jahrb. d. kunsthist. Samml. d. AllerhoE chsten Kaiserhaus 2, 33f.
- The following after a oral assumption by F. Neumann-GoE ttingen.
- E. Wolff, Hermes 69, 153f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 97.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks Pl. 28; E. H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks 313 Fig. 223.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. Pl. 29,3;E. H. Minns, op. op. cit. 319 fig. 230.
- Similar to M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. Pl. 29, 1; Yale Class. Stud. 5, fig. 80.
- Cf. also M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks Taf. 29, 2.

- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 161; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 268.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 210f.
- On the following F. Specht, KZ. 66, 224f.; 197

E. Hermann, GGN. 1941, 220f.; also F. Specht, ZdA. 78, 141 note 3.
- Herodotus. 4, 18; 19; 54.
- Herodotus. 4, 17.

242a Herodot. 4, 18; 19; 54.
- In the edition by F. Miklosich, ch. 3. Translation by F. Specht.
- A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 175; A. Salmony, Sino- Siberian Art 16; J. Wiesner, Deutscher Wissenschaftsdienst 1942, No. 17, 3.
- J. J. M. De Groot, Chines. Urk. zur Gesch. Asia 1, 72.
- E. Chavannes, T'oung Pao N.F. 6, 558f.;

8, 195f.; A. Wylie, Journ. Anthrop. Instit. 10, 44; M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 94.
- J. Werner, Euras. Sept. Ant. 4, 203; 7, 50.
- F. Hirth, Sitz.-Ber. Bayer. Akad. phil.-hist. Cl. 1899, 2, 45 f.
- Amm. Marc. 31, 3, 1.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 217f.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 1, 3, 1; b. Goth. 1, 1, 3.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 1, 2, 4 (where he does not mention the Alans, but the Sarmatians) says that the Gothic tribes had one language.
- G. Vetter, Die Ostgoten und Theoderich (Forsch, zur Kirchen- u. Geistesgesch. 15) 11 f.
- H. Dumitrescu, Istros 1, 133 f.
- R. Loewe, Indog. Forsch. 3,146f.;
- R. Loewe, op. cit. O. 147.
- H. HuE bschmann, Osset. Sprache 33; R. Loewe, a. 0.147; S. Feist, a. 0.155. Differently, as I see H. H. Schaeder, ZDMG. 96, 136f., who combines the Ossetic words with jaw. gava, middle Pers. gay.
- R. Loewe, op. cit. O. 147; uE ber gothische Hausbauten G. Vetter,

a. O. 10, with references.
- Amm. Marc. 31, 2,18f. On the typicality of the description: M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien und der Bosporus 1, 73; 103f.; A. AlfoE ldi, Gnomon 9, 565f. Without on the question of such typology, it should be emphasized that I too am interested in the general .
- Jord. get. 4, 26. 260a Soc. 6, 37, 21.
- Eunap. fr. 55; also H.-E. Giesecke, Die Ostgermanen und der Arianismus 69 f.
- SHA. v. Gaß. 13, 9.
- SHA. v. Claud. 8, 5.
- Amm. Marc. 31, 7, 5; 7; 9; 8, 1; 13, 1; 15, 5.
- Veget., epit. 3, 10.
- Ep. 20,12 (Migne 16, 1039); see K. Helm, op. O. 45.

266a Tents as churches of the Goths: Sozom. 6, 37; G. Vetter, a.
O. 85 note 18; further above p. 173 note 1.

- Amm. Marc. 31, 5, 17 siluerunt immobiles.
- CIL. 12, 1122a lines 1-6; Dio 69, 11, 2; M. Rostovtzeff, CAH.

11, 97.

- G. Vetter, op. cit. O. 10 with references.
- On the following: Tacit., hist. 1, 79, 5f.; cf. ann. 6, 35. on this

M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 98; 101 f.

- B. Thordemann, Acta Archaeol. 4, 131, on Sarmatian lame armor. Horse armor does not seem to be attested in the Sarmatian archaeological finds: F. E. Brown, Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1932-33, 444 note 8. Of the depictions of the TrajanssaE, which show scale-armored archery shoes on just such steeds (C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der TrajanssaE ule No. XXXI; XXXVII; K. Lehmann- Hartleben, Die TrajanssaE ule Pl. 17; 20), Brown (l.c. 445) says that they are "interesting only as curiosities". But C. Cichorius, l.c. O. 2, 150f., has pointed out how much the depictions agree with Tacit., hist. 1, 79, 5f. uE. Even if the scale armor of the horsemen is in this form, no one has doubted the existence of such armor. However, this is the case with horse armor. In my opinion, the classicist tendencies of Trajan's style out the simple reproduction of the armor, which would have made the intrinsic form of horse and rider invisible. Instead, the artist chose a way of depicting the armor.

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The result was that the of man and horse were rendered in their natural formation, but as if covered with fish scales. 372 Amm. Marc. 19, 11, 10. On the interpretation (aw. mahrka = "death") K. MuE, Deutsche Altertumskunde 3, 124 note 1; M. Ebert, Reallex.
d. Vorgesch. 12, 245; Die Iranier in SuE drußland 46; otherwise E. Benveniste, Journ. asiat. 221, 135f. The word appears in

a poem in honor of a Parthian governor as the name of the highest god: F. Cumont, C.-R. de l'Academie des inscriptions 1931, 278f.;M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 98 note.
2. 2" The rock paintings (H. Appelgren - Kivalo, Altaische KunstdenkmaE ler, Helsingfors 1931; A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 175f.) are Alanic: M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 269f.; CAH. 11,100; A. M. Tallgren in B. Thordemann, Acta arch. 4, 146 note 40.
274 On the interpretation M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 99;
Sarmatians in the army of Diocletian and Ga
lerius: Oros. 7, 25, 12. 273 Relief from Tanais: E. H. Minns,
Scythians
and Greeks 304 Fig. 218. 2" W. Arendt, Zeitschr. f. hist. Waffen- und
KostuE mkunde N.F. 5, 27.
277 Tomb paintings from Kerch: E. H. Minns, op. cit. O. 314 ill.
224 On the interpretation L. Malten, Rom. Mitt. 38-39, 331 f.

278 E. H. Minns, op. cit. O. 318 Fig. 230.

279 M. Rostovtzeff, Skythien und der Bosporus 1, 557f.; W.

W. Tarn, Hellenist. Naval and Milit. Developm. 75 note 1; J. Wiesner, Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im alten Orient 90.

280 W. Radioff, Aus Sibirien 1, 447, says of the Mongols that they ride in short stirrups. "The rider's thighs are completely free and have absolutely no end, only the knees the front edge of the very high saddle."

C. Diem (Asiatische Reiterspiele 30) comments: "The short stirrup allows the rider to high. The desire for this is said to have arisen from archery, which, standing and freely balanced, allows the archer great mobility in all directions, including backwards." E. SchaE fer

described to me the short stirrups and the high saddle seat, which is reinforced by padding underneath, of the East Tibetan Ngolok. Among them, the desire to handle the up to 5 m long rider's lance freely and on all sides from such a height is decisive. 2 "i Jord., Get. 50, 261.

282 ß.MunkaE csi,Keletiszemle5,236; H. Jacobsohn's objections (Arier und Ugrofinnen 229) are of little weight.

283 M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 222; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Excavat. at DuraEuropos 1932-33, 192f.; Pl. 18, 3.

284 G. Arwidson, Acta Arch. 10, 57 f.

2S5 E. Maschke, Zeitschr. f. dt. Philol. 51, 166 (I owe my knowledge of the essay to J. Weisweiler).

286 Germ. 43-46; G. Ekholm, CAH. 11, 58f.

287 E. Behmer, D. zweischneidige Schwert d. German. Migration Period 21.

288 Procopius, b. Goth. 1, 16, IL

289 Olympiod. fr. 17 (Hist. Graeci min. Dind. 1, 456f.); Malalas p. 364 Bonn; A. AlfoE ldi, Ant. Denkm. z. Kenntn. d. Reiterhirten 13. M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. C. Diem, l.c. 27 f.; the Sasanian-Aegyptian material from Antinoe by N. P. Toll, Recueil Kondakoff 93f. (Negro with lasso around his neck, dragged away by a horseman) is overlooked everywhere (also in AlfoE ldi).

290 Amm. Marc. 31, 5, 8.

291 M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks Pl. 29, 2; H. E. Minns, Scythians and Greeks 316f.; Fig. 227 top right.

2B2 Veget., epit. 1, 20; cf. Procopius, 1. c. 2,2,16. 2"3 Procopius,

1. c 1, 27, 27.

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294 Zosim. 1, 45, 2; cf. SHA. v. Claud. 12, 9.

295 Amm. Marc. 31, 16, 3.

- Amm. Marc. 31, 7, 17.

290a L. Schmidt. D. Ostgermanen2 258.

- Amm. Marc. 31, 12, 17.
- Jord., Get. 18, 102.

- Suidas Ss,ooY][ie(a gives the fragment: rcaprjaav bh oi yiXioi SxoE &ai, TtaE arjG dgoE xepoi. oE iooyjjieCas (2, 113, 1204 adl.). Probably Dexippos (A. Mai to F. H. G. 3, 685 note) and, as I believe, to refer to the battle at Beroia (differently and incorrectly A. Mai, l.c.); cf. Jord., Get. 18, 102 Cniva cum Gothis in modum fulminis ruit.
- Veget., epit. 1, 20; cf. 3, 26; A. AlfoE ldi, D. Untergang d.

RoE merherrsch, in Pannonia 1, 90.

- O. HoE fler, Deutsche Kultur im Leben der VoE lker, 2nd issue (1940), 181 f.

aoia Agneuus? MGH, Script, rer. langob. 338; Walafried Strabo, MGH, poetae lat. aevi Carol. 2, 370f.

- Procopius, b. Goth. 4, 32, 18f. a02a C. Diem, a. O. 86f.; 90f.
- strava: Jord, Get. 49, 258 according to Priskos. Cf. H. Jacobsohn, Arch. f. dt. Wortforschung 42, 88. The fixed terminology shows that the custom was older. I owe the conception and evidence to G. Baesecke, who also translated the Beowulf verses (Vor- und FruE hgesch. des dten. Schriftt. 1, 361f. u. Anm.). Cf. also K. Helm, op. O. 2, 1, 19.
- y. Thomsen, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon dechiffrees 59.
- V. Thomsen, op. cit. O. 60f.; O. Franke, Abh. BAW. 1901, 13.

806 V. Thomsen, op. O. 59f.

- 3 1 71f.; also J. O. Plassmann, Germanien 1942, 83f., where further evidence is .
- The Romans were also familiar with the circumambulation of the tomb: Herodian. 4, 2, 9 and the bas-relief from the SaE ule of Antoninus Pius in the Giardino della Pigna.

809 Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 34.

- Procopius, b. Goth. 2, 25, 2f.
- K. Meuli in the HandwoE rterb. d. dtsch. Superstition Art:

"Mask". 1794f.; M. Ninck, Wodan und germanischer Schicksalsglaube 106 f.

- Fundamental O. HoE fler, Brauch und Sinnbild 101 f.
- As far as I know, this is the first publication of the rock painting in plate 90. It was taken by E. Trautmann and myself in the summer of 1938. Cf. Almgren, Felsbilder als relig. Urkunden 8 Fig. 7; O. HoE fler, Hist. Zeitschr. 157, 12.
- M. Ninck, op. cit. O. 40f.
- Amm. Marc. 31, 15, 2; cf. 7, 9; 8, 9.
- M. Ninck, op. cit. O. Pl. 1, 3; 2.
- Amm. Marc. 16,12,36; 44; 31,13,10 etc.
- Fundamental O. HoE fler, Kultische GeheimbuE nde der Germanen 1; ZdA. 73, 109f.; further in F. R. SchroE der, Germ.-roman. Monatsschr. 1938, 97 f.
- M. Ninck, op. cit. O. Pl. 6, 2.
- O. Almgren, op. cit. O. 137; 139; fig. 93; O. HoE fler, Hist.

Zeitschr. 157, 12.

- Strabon 7 p. 294.
- Plutarch, Crass. 23, 8f.; Justin. 41, 2, 8; see also F. Altheim, Die Soldatenkaiser 30 f.
- F. Specht, KZ. 65, 209; F. R. SchroE der, Germ.-rom. Monatsschr. 1939, 337f.
- M. Ninck, op. cit. O. 30 f.; O. HoE f ler, Von dtsch. Art in Language u. Dichtg. 2, 24; further literature in J. Wiesner, Fahren und Reiten 88.
- M. A. Castren, VoE ries, uE ber die finn. mythologie 298 f.
- The evidence in G. Vetter, op. cit. O. 23; 94 note 137-138.
- Procopius, b. Goth. 1, 27, 27.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 2, 3, 9.
- A. AlfoE ldi, Arch. Anz. 1931, 399f.; K. Kerenyi, Mnemos. 1939, 161 f.

329a Fjjj UI I am particularly indebted to E. Peiner for the provision of photographs.

- J. J. M. De Groot, The Religious System of China 4, 270. 200
- O. Franke, Abh. BAW. 1901, 20; K. Shiratori, Keleti szemle 3,134f.; F.Hirth, Journ. Amer. Orient Soc. 37, 100.
- W. Radioff, Aus Sibirien 1, 131; further details in F. Kretschmar, Hundestammvater und Kerberos 1, 6f.
- w. Radioff, op. O. 1, 129; V. Thomsen, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon dechiffrees 59.
- A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst- und Kulturgesch. Mittelasiens 68 Fig. 102.
- A. v. Le Coq, op. cit. O. 68 fig. 101; 72 fig. 116-117.
- a. Salmony, Euras. Sept. Ant. 10, 54f. 330" A. V. Schmidt, Euras. Septr. Ant. 1, 18f;
L. Halphen, CAH. 12, 101 f. 3"7 A. AlfoE ldi, Arch. Anz. 1931, 398f.
- Summarizing M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 51 f.; The Animal Style 17f.
- Gallus-HorvaE th, Un peuple cavalier prescythique en Hongrie (Diss. Pannon. 2, 9).
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 181 f.; CAH. 11, 102L; The Animal Style 41f.; L. Halphen, CAH. 12, lOOf.
- M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style Pl. 12,4.
- On Sarmatian-SuE Russian on the fabrics of Noin Ula: M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. op. 86f.
- G. MuE ller-Kuales, op. cit. O. 1168f.
- J. Strzygowski, Altai, Iran und VoEkerwanderung 276, where weit. Lit. is given.
- v. Jenny -Volbach, German. Jewelry 20.
- v. Jenny -Volbach, op. O. 10; 21.
- v_ Jenny- Volbach, op. O. Pl. 4, 1-2.
- v. Jenny-Volbach, op. cit. O. 21.

- After a lecture by H. KuE hn at the Association of Friends of Saalburg 9.3.1942. Cf. A. Salmony, Sino - Siberian Art Pl. 39, 1-4.
- v. Jenny-Volhach, op. O. 20; 21.
- O. HoE fler, Deutsche Kultur im Leben der VoE lker, 2nd issue (1940), 183. Further examples from the history of the Vandals and Heruli 179f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 206f. 363 A. AlfoE ldi,

D. Fall of Roman rule in Pannonia 89 f. 354 Jord., Get. 22, 113: iuxtaflumina Marisia,
Miliare et Gilpil et Grisia. 305 Dexipp. fr. 24 FHG. 4, 685 MuE ll.; fr. 7 Jac. The ala VIII Vandiliorum (Not. dign., or. 28, 25), later attested in Egypt, goes to this; most recently L. Schmidt, D. Ostgermanen2 106; F. Zucker, Geist. Arb. 1939, no. 13, 4.

- Hieron., ep. 123, 15, 2, who also Sarmatians. Cf. Stein, Gesch. d. spaE troE m. Reiches 1, 382 note 1; L. Schmidt, op. O. 108; Prokop. b. Vand. 1, 5, 18.
- Procopius, 1. c 1, 24, 3.
- Procopius, 1. c 1, 19, llf.; 2, 3, lf.
- v. Jenny-Volbach, op. O. Pl. 14; further literature p. 40.
- N. Fettich, Acta Archaeol. 1, 221 f. be N. Fettich, op. O. 261 f.

362 Fettich, op. cit. op. cit. 256f.; 262.

- I owe the following to a tip from H. Steinacker.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 1, 2, 2.
- Procopius, 1. c. 1, 3, 1.
- Procopius, 1. c. 1, 2, 4-5.
- E. Sade, Festschr. A. Oxe 169 f.
- Hist. 1, 79, 5 f.
- G. Vetter, op. cit. O. 17 f., with examples.
- Among the Sarmatians, too, the use of the bow can be dispensed with in a special case (Tacit., ann. 6, 35). Among the Chinese Han cavalry armies, it is a special merit if "a man-killing battle is fought in close combat with short weapons"

(J. J. M. De Groot, Chines.Urk. zur Gesch. Asiens 1, 121). With Goths and Vandals, however, it is a fundamental attitude. A parallel from the Greek archaic period in W. Schadewaldt in: Das neue Bild der Antike 1, 73f.

- F. R. SchroE der, RoE m.-germ. Monatsschrift 1939, 349.
- On the following F. R. SchroE der, op. cit. O. 351, with citation of his words. - One might refer to E. T. Lawrence's much-cited sentences, in which he describes the heroic glory of the German

The following is a description of the departments during the Turkish retreat in 1918: "They were two thousand miles from their homeland, without hope in a foreign, unknown land, in a situation desperate enough to break

even the strongest nerves. Nevertheless, their troops held firmly together, organized in rank and file, and steered through the swirling sea of and Arabs like ironclads, silent and with their heads held high. If they were attacked, they stopped, took up battle positions and fired well-directed fire. There was no haste, no shouting, no uncertainty. They were magnificent." (Uprising in the WuE ste 338; The Seven Pillars of Wisdom 800.)

- M. Rostovtzeff, Artibus Asiae 4, 112f.; Semin. Kondakov. 6, 166; A. Salmony, Sino-Siberian Art 61.

371 A. AlfoE ldi, Arch. Anz. 1931, 399f.

- M. Rostovtzeff, Journ. des arts Asiat. 1, 11 f.; The Animal Stile 93; Semin. Kondakov. 6, 166.
- D. Comparetti, Der Kaiewala 209f.; M. A. Castren's treatise "UI ber die Zauberkunst der Finnen" (Kleine Schrift. 9f.) should also be consulted. Finns as "arch-magicians": 0. HoE fler, Brauch und Sinnbild 112 with references.
- On the following G. Baesecke, Vor- u. FruE hgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums 1, 175f.; L. Wolff, Die Helden der VoE lkerwanderungszeit 50 f.
- The HildebrandsKed is very significant: it may have borrowed the duel between father and son from an Iranian model (G. Baesecke, Nachr. GoE tt. Ges. Wiss. N.F. 3, 139f.), but it not only deepened the tragic content (G. Baesecke, l.c. 152f.), but omitted the wrestling, the bow and the club.
- G. Baesecke, op. cit. O. 175 f.
- G. Baesecke, a. 0. 177 f.
- Evidence in F. Altheim, Welt als Gesch. 2, 327 f. 38ia y Thomsen, op. O. 97f.
- G. Baesecke, op. cit. O. 164.
- Th. Mommsen in the introduction to his Jordanes edition XXXVIIf.
- The Shi ki of the Huns: "They do not have a script." J. J. M. De Groot, Chin. Urk. z. Gesch. Asiens 1, 3.
- G. Baesecke, op. cit. O. 1, 175f.
- Jord., Get. 24, 121 f.; K. Helm, op. O. 2, 1, 22f.; 28; to the first part of the name H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 7f.
- F. Altheim, Germania 1939, 49f.; The Soldier Emperors 81 Note 3.
- On the following O. HoE fler, Hist. Zeitschrift 157, 9f.; Brauch und Sinnbild 117f.; 135.
- O.HoE fler, Hist.Zeitschr. 157,9;Gapt Jord., Get. 79.
- Jord., Get. 78.
- O. HoE fler, l.c. 6f.; 13f. -The contradiction that HoE fler's view has found is known to me, but has not been able to convince me.
- O. HoE f ler, op. O. 19 note 1.
- Agath. 1, 20 p. 58, llf. Bonn. I owe the reference to this passage to R. Delbrueck.

- Amm. Marc. 20, 4, 17 f.
- F. R. SchroE der, op. cit. O. 348. The Goths even believed that they to remain loyal to Constantine the Great's lineage: Amm. Marc. 27, 5, 1; on the other hand the Roman
View 5, 2 beginning.
- H.-E. Giesecke, op. cit. O. 36 f.
- H.-E. Giesecke, op. cit. O. 57 f.
- Ep. Auxentii f. 305f. in H.-E. Giesecke, op. O. 19.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 186f.; Semin. Kondakov. 6, 173; otherwise H. Leisegang, Eranos Jahrb. 1939,231 f. The bowl deserves its own study. It would be important if the treasure could be shown to belong to Athanarich, the enemy of the Christians; cf. the discussion in ArntzZeiß, Die einheim. RunendenkmaE ler 55f.
- G. Rodenwaldt, CAH. 12, 561 f.
- J. Strzygowski, Altai, Iran und VoEkerwanderung 289 note 1.

- The Seven Pillars of Wisdom (Dte. UI bersetz.) 8f. ,
- F. Hommel in D. Nielsen, Handb. d. arab.
Altertumskde. 1, 89f.
- F. Hommel, op. cit. O. 106 note 6; P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs 56; TkaoE , RE. 8 2184.

* Peripl. mar. Erythr. 23; Plin., n. h. 6, 104; Ptolem., geogr. 6, 7, 41; A. Sprenger, D. Geogr. des alten Arabien 76f.

- D H MuE ller, Die Burgen und SchloE sser Sudarabiens nachd. IlklildesHamdaE nl2,Pl. 2.

e D. H. MuE ller, op. O. 1, 37.

- N. Rhodokanakis inD.Nielsen, a. 0.1,1171. s The passages in
P. v. Rohden, RE. 2, 356.
- E. Glaser, Reise nach MaE rib 58f.; 177; A. Grohmann in D. Nielsen, op. O. 1, 160f.
- P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 56. On the nature of the harvest B Thomas, Arabia Felix 122f.

u Strabon 16 p. 768; 778; P. K. Hitti, a O. 36;

N. Rhodokanakis in D. Nielsen, op. cit. O. 110. la N. Rhodokanakis in D.Nielsen, op. cit. l,H0f.

13 Strabon 16 p. 778.

14 On the following M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Uties 12f.; 22; 27;

P. K. Hitti, a. 0.49f.; 58f.

15 W. W. Tarn, Journ. Egypt. Arch. 15, 11. iß A. Musil, The Northern HegaE z 288f.; Northern Neid 224f.

17 Strabon 16, p. 768; Nabataean necropolis of Madain: A. Musil, The Northern Hegaz 109 f.

is Strabon 16 p. 776.

19 On the following W. W. Tarn, op. cit. op. 9f.; M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. 25f.; 56f.; H. G. Rawlison, Intercourse between India and the Western World 88f.
20 M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 28.
21 UI on its course M. J. Cledat, Bull. Inst., fi-ang. archeol. orient. Caire 17, 103f.
22 H. G. Rawlison, op. cit. O. 90f.
23 W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 16f.
24 N. Rhodokanakis, Zeitschr. f. Semitistik 2, 113f.; W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 20; M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 21.
" M. Rostovtzeff, Arch. f. Pap. 4, 304f.
26 M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 306. " Strabon 16 p. 780; M. Rostovtzeff l.c. 306.
28 Peripl. 19; M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities 65; W. W.Tarn, a.
O. 23.
29 Strabon 2 p. 98f.; see K. Reinhardt, Poseidonios 36 f. >n so W Otto,RE. 8,1660f.;M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. 28; H. G. Rawlinson, op. O. 109f., who, however, Hi'ppalos' discovery only in the time of Claudius. Most recently Otto-Bengtson, Abb. Bayer. AW., N. F. 17 (1938), 194f.
31 H. Lammens, Melanges de la faculte Orientale Beyrouth 9, 103 f. on the struggle for the sea route to India.
32 TkaoE , RE. 8, 2183.

- P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 58.
- W. Schur, Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero 49 f.
- n. h. 6, 96f.; 101 f.
- On the time approach most recently: J. Kennedy, Journ. R Asiat.

Soc. 1916, 8291; 1918, 106f.; W. H. Schoff, ibid. 1917, 827f;
The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea 7 f.

- Peripl. 26; H. G. Rawlison, op. cit. O. 106.
- Peripl. 23; M. Rostovtzeff, Arch. f. Pap. 4, 308- W. Schur, a.

O. 45f.; uE ber Charibael G. F. Hill, Catal. of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia LXIV.

- Peripl. 26; M. Rostovtzeff, l.c. O. 3081, W. Schur, op. O. 46.
- Philostorg., hist. eccl. 3, 4; TkaOI , RE. 6, 890f.; cf. cod.

Theod. 12, 2,12 and E. Littmann, RE. Suppl. 7, 6.

- H. G. Rawlinson, op. cit. O. 129f.
- Pap. Oxyrrh. 413.
- E Hultzsch, Hermes 39, 307f.
- H. G. Rawlinson, op. O. 139 note 4, where Mercator is erroneously mentioned.
- W. Schur, op. cit. O. 52f. 45" G. F. Hill, op. cit. O. LXXXIV.
- Peripl. 26; W. Schur, op. cit. O. 52.
- C Conti Rossini, Journ. asiat. 1921, 2.5t., 25f.; 36; F. Hommel in D. Nielsen, l.c. O. 1, 104; P. K. Hitti, l. c. O. 60.

473 J. Wellhausen, Reste arab. Heidentums2 22f.; R. Dussaud, Les Arabes en Syrie avant rislam 132; 143f.; 153; nordarabische GoE tter in SuE darabien 132.

- E. Glaser, Mitt. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch. 1897, 360f.; F. Hommel in D. Nielsen, op. O. 1, 105f; Grobmann, Enz. d. Isl. 3, 304f.
- P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 64.

60 G. Rotbstein, Die Dynastie der Lacbmiden in al-Hira 36. 51 On the following A. MuE ller, Der Islam 1,27; G. Rotbstein, a.
O. 33f.; P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 64f.

52 P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 65 note 1; cf. J. Wellhausen, Skizzen u. Vorarb. 4, 5; J. Schleifer, Enz. d. Isl. 2, 150. Th. NoE ldeke was still doubtful the South Darabian descent of the Ghassanids: Abh. Berl. Akad. 1887, 2, 6. About a South Darabian local tradition B. Thomas, Arabia Felix 129.

63 J. Wellhausen, op. O. 4, 5; H. H. BraE u, Enz. d. Isl. 4,675; F.Krenkow, ibid. 2,1094f.; uE ber Imrualkais C. Huart, ibid. 1,500; H. Grimme, D. weltgesch. Bdtg. Arabiens und Mohammed 24.

34 On the following F. Cumont, CAH. 11, 613 f.

55 Strabon 16 p. 736; 739; 767 and .

56 Strabo distinguishes such Arabs, who live half as nomads, half as farmers (16 p. 777)'from the pure cxtjvIxc" xai xap,7)Xoßoaxo6 (16 p. 767f.; 777). Cf. also R. Dussaud, l.c. O. 150; 156; M. v. Oppenheim, D. Beduinen 1, 22.

07 M. Rostovtzeflf, Caravan Cities 60.

58 M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities 100; uE ber die IturaE er
Strabon 16 p. 755; Dessau 2683;
F. Cumont, op. O. 614f. 69 Plin, n. h. 5, 81 f. according to the commentaries of Agrippa; see F. Cumont, op. cit. O. 616. 60- F. Cumont in A. Poidebard, La trace de
Rome dans le desert de Syrie VII.

61 Strabon 16 p. 753.

62 M. Rostovtzeflf, op. cit. O. 32f.; 68f.

64 F. Cumont in A. Poidebard, La trace de Rome dans le desert de Syrie VII f.

68 F. Cumont, op. cit. O. VIII; CAH. 11, 860; Fouilles de Doura- Europos L.

86 A. Poidebard, op. cit. O. 52.

67 Dessau 5834; 5845f.; their continuation in Islamic times,

II Lammens, Melanges de la faculte Orientale Beyrouth 9. 143.

88 R. Cagnat, Syria 8, 53 f.

- Jaussen-Savignac, Mission archeol. enArabie 2, VIII f.
- Jaussen-Savignac, op. cit. O. 28f.; Lagrange, C>R.del'Acad. desinscriptions 1909, 157f.; W. W. Tarn, Journ. Egypt. Arch. 15, 18.
- Plin, n. h. 6,13; Jaussen-Savignac, l.c. XI.

- Jaussen-Savignac, op. cit. O. XIII; A. Musil, The Northern HegaE z 299 f.
- H. Lammens, Melanges de la faculte Orientale Beyrouth 9, 111; the trade between Gerrha and Teima: M. Rostovtzeflf, Caravan Cities 13.
- E. Littmann, ThamuE d and SafaE 2 f.
- Jaussen-Savignac, op. cit. O. VIII; P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 72; W. W. Tarn, op. cit. op. 16f.; E. Littmann, op. O. 28.
- On the dating W. W. Tarn, op. cit. O. 17f.; 24f.; E. Littmann, a. O. 28f.
- On the Thamudic Scriptures: Jaussen-Savig nac, op. O. XIIIf.; E. Littmann, op. O. X.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 92; 95f.; Safaitic inscriptions oE stbch of Amman and in Rutbah: R. Dussaud, Syria 10, 144 f.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 98; P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 71.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 106.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 97.
- Dussaud-Macler, Voyage archeol. au Safa et dans le Djebel ed-DruE z 3f.; A. Poidebard, op. cit. O. 126; 195; P. K. Hitti, op. cit. O. 72; E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 104.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 104.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 104.
- E. Littmann, a. 105; 126. 88 E. Littmann, op. cit. op. 23f.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 93; 95 f.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 93; 126; A. Poidebard, op. cit. O. 126.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 98.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 107f.; 118.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 100; 116.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 101.

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"3 E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 98; M. v. Oppenheim, op. cit. O. 1,27.

- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 98; 114.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 100.

E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 101; 103 and the inscriptions no. 18 p. 125; No. 33 p. 131; No. 58 p. 139.

- Th. NoE ldeke, Abh. BAW. 1887, 2, lOf.
- Malal. p. 434f. Bonn; Th. NoE ldeke, op. O. 11 note 3.
- On the following Clermont-Ganneau, Journ. des savants 1906, 52; M. v. Berchem, ebendort 1909, 403; Jaussen- Savignac, l.c. 3, 124f. O. 3, 124f.
- H. Lammens, op. cit. op. cit. 116f.; 343f.; 359.
- TkaoE , RE. 5,1790; A. Musil, ArabiaDeserta 515; 531f.; E. Littmann, l.c. O. 1; whether Plin. n. h. 6, 146 is Dumatha = Dumat el-Jandal remains doubtful, since it is transferred to the Tigris. More likely

already 6, 157 oppidum Domata. NabataE ish inscription in Dumat el-Jandal: A. Musil, l.c. O. 515.

- A. Musil, op. cit. O. 127.

i°3 A. Poidebard, op. cit. op. 96f.; 99f.; 101f.

- Th. NoE ldeke, Tabaris Gesch. der Perser und Araber 25 note 1; H. Lammens, op. cit. O. 343; G. Rothstein, Die Dynastie der Lachmiden in al-Hira 39; 44; H. H. Schaeder, Gnomon 9, 344f. 1048 Schmidt-Polotsky, SBAW. 1933, 28.
- R. Dussaud, Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam 34; D. Talbot Rice, Journ. R. Centr. Asian Soc. 1932, 257.
- II Lammens, op. cit. O. 344.
- By E. Trautmann, fall 1938.
- Sarre-Herzfeld, ArchaE ol. Reise im Euphratund Tigrisgebiet 4, Pl. 7 f.
- D. Talbot Rice, Ars Islamica 1.65 f.; fig. 18.
- Herodian. 3, 11, 8.
- Herodian. 2, 7, 9.
- Herodian. 2, 7, 9-10.
- A. v. Gutschmidt, Unters, z. Gesch. des KoE nigreichs Osrhoene, Mem. Acad. des sciences St. Petersburg, 7th ser. 35 (1887) lf.
- N. C. Debevoise, A PouE tical History of Parthia 51; 165f. ii4a Mingana, Sources Syriaquesl, 105; E.

Sachau, Abh. BAW. 1915, 6, 35; 60. 116 N. C. Debevoise, op. O. 38; Th. Noeldeke, Tabaris Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber 13 Anm. 5; E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 150 Anm. 60.

ii" Strabon 16 p. 745f.; Joseph, Ant. 20,17 to 33; M. Rostovtzeflf, CAH. 11, 114; C. B. Welles, Yale Class. Stud. 5,125f.; The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle, ed. G. Philipps 18; 31.

in CIS. 2, 1, 72; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 159 note d.

- The literature is given below p. 209 note 288.
- C. B. Welles, op. cit. O. 134 note 51.
- N. C. Debevoise, op. cit. O. 164; cf. 155f. "i E. Sachau, Abh. BAW. 1915, 6, 34.
- A. Mingana, Sources Syriaques 1, 101f.; E. Sachau, op. cit. O. 58.
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Pl. 5; 1929-30, 18f.; Pl. 7.

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- A. Grohmann in D. Nielsen, op. cit. O. 1, 150f.; D. Krencker, Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 2, 79f.
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- Cf. Dio 76, 11, 3.

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a. O. 262 note 103.

- To the following: Herodian. 3, 9, 4; E. Herzfeld, ZDMG. 68, 668f.
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- E. Littmann, ThamuE d and SafaE 102; also the inscriptions no. 40 p. 133; no. 44 p. 135.
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- H. Lammens, Melanges de la faculte Orientale Beyrouth 8, 217f.; 9, 150; 176; 213; Journ. asiat. 1916, 2, 425f.
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O. 257.

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221 Fl. Lieutenant Maitland, R.A.F., Antiquity 1927, 197f.; Pl. 3; L.W. B. Rees, ibid. 1929, 400 Pl. lf.; R. Dussaud, Syria 10, 144f.

222 Dio 75, 11, 2; cf. Herodian 3, 1, 3.

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228 E. Littmann, ThamuE d and SafaE 116.

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56; 26, 74-75; 83.

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271; C. M. Dougthy, Arabia Deserta (dte. UI bers.) 512. 244 H. Seyrig, Syria 1934, 159f.; Pl. 19; O. Eißfeldt, Tempel und Kulte syr. StaE dte in hellenist.-roE m. Zeit 75f.; F. Altheim, Helios u. Heliodor von Emesa (Albae Vigil. 12) 29f.; fig. 1.

245 F. Cumont, Etudes Syriennes 264 Fig. 93.

246 F. Cumont, op. cit. O.. 273 Fig. 94.

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Caravan Cities 45 f. 257 H. Lammens, op. cit. O. 56; 64.

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366a jj Seyrig, op. O. 37f.; especially note 4.

- F. Cumont, op. cit. O. LIV.
- H. Seyrig, Syria 1933,158; 167f.; Pl. 20,1.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art 26; Dromedarians at a cohors Lusitanorum in the Thebais: Th. Mommsen, Eph. epigr. 7, 462== Gesamm. Schrift. 8, 560;

BGU. 2, 696.

- Not. dign. or. 34, 33. Cf. Stein, Die kaiserl. Beamten u. TruppenkoE rper im roE m. Deutschi. 122 note 14a; H. Nesselhauf, CIL. 16, 3 n. 3; 87 n. 3; S. Lambrino, Rev. de philol. 1931, 251f.; W. Wagner, Die Dislokation der Auxiliarformat. 41 f.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities 33.
- Malal. p. 300, 4f. Bonn; also A. Schenk v. Stauffenberg, Die roE m. Kaisergesch, at Malalas 386.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Journ. Rom. Stud. 1932, 107f.; Dura- Europos and its Art 65f.; Caravan Cities 112; 138. UI ber Azizu
F. Cumont, Syria 10, 30 f.
- F. E. Brown, Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1933-35, 167 with further details.
- Found by E. Trautmann in 1938.
- Jaussen-Savignac, Mission archeol. en Arabie 1, 141;
145; 173.
- M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities 45f.; Cumont, RE. 5, 1866;
E. Littmann, ThamuE d and SafaE 30; 107.
- J. Gildemeister, ZDMG. 23,150; CIS. 2,157; F.Cumont,a.0.1866;D.oriental.Relig.3101.
- C. Hopkins, Michig. Alumnus Quaterly Review of 4. 12. 37, No. 10 Fig,
- M. Rostovtzeff, Journ. Rom. Stud. 1932, 109f.; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 225; the equestrian saint in Egypt: F. Cumont, Melanges Syriennes offerts aE R. Dussaud 5f.
- 16 p. 780.

CHAPTER V: THE NORTH AFRICAN DROMEDARY NOMADS

- Procopius, b. Vand. 1, 8, 15f.; 25f.; H. Barth, Wander. d. d. KuE stenl. d. Mittelm. 1, 47 note 8a; E. F. Gautier, Geiserich (Dtsch. UI bers. 1934) 325 f.
- H. v. d. Esch, Weenak - the caravan calls 60 f.
- Arabia Deserta (Dtsch. UI bers.) 441 f. Of course, Dougthy also understood little about camels in the eyes of the Bedouins, as E.T. Lawrence (Preface p. 20) reports.
- Procopius, 1. c. 27.
- Cf. also 2, 11, 48.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 1, 8, 27.
- Procopius, 1. c. 14; also under Hilderic the Vandals were defeated by the Moors
(1, 9, 3), but nothing is said about the dromedary tactics.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 2, 11, 17f.; Coripp', John 2, 93f.; 396f.; 4, 597f.; 1061f.
- Procopius, 1. c. 17.

- Coripp., 1. c. 4, 599f. mentions eight rows of dromedaries, two rows of cattle.
- Procopius, 1. c. 50f.
- Ibn-Khaldoun, trad. par M. de Slane. Notices et estraits 20

p. 80; cf. E. F. Gautier, op. cit. O. 331;Les siecles obscurs duMaghrebl71.
- xuE xXoe:l. c. 1, 8, 25; 2, 11, 17-18.
- For basic information, see O. Spengler, Unterg. d. Abendlandes 2"°, 15 note 1; cf. F. Gautier, Geiserich 321 f.

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- L. Frobenius, Ekade Ektab. Die Felsmalereien Fezzans pl. 85-86; Kulturgeschichte Afrikas pl. 27; G. B. M. Flamand, Les pierres ecrites (Hadjrat mectoubat) pl. 56f.; p. 60 fig. 15; p. 73 fig. 21-22; p. 85 fig. 26; p. 132 fig. 36; fig. 109-

112; II Sahara Italiano 1, 252 fig. 8; 317 fig. 16.
- On the needlessness of the Maiirs detail Prokop, b. Vand. 2, 6, lOf.
- Such a bazzia is described by Corippus, John 2, 473f.; camel robbery 474f.; cf. 4, 1033.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 2, 8, lOf.

10 L. Frobenius, Das unbekannte Afrika 42f.; Monumenta Africana2 241 f.; Kulturgesch. Africa 238f. On the later migrations of the dromedary nomads most recently D. Westermann, Forsch, u. Fortschr. 1942, 49 f.
- F. Altheim, Italy and Born 1, 201 f.
- L. Frobenius, Das unbekannte Afrika 75f.; Monumenta Africana2 241 f.; Kulturgesch. Afrikas 239; Schicksalskunde 81f.; 93f.; Der Kopf als Schicksal 15 f.
- Amm. Marc. 29, 5, 28f.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 2, 7, 3.
- Procopius, 1. c. 2, 11, 18.
- Procopius, 1. c. 2, 11, 18.
- Procopius, 1. c. 2, 11, 19.
- Procopius, 1. c. 2, 8, 13.
- A. Mordini, Enciclop. Ital. 34, 431 1. sp.

28 On the following L. Frobenius, Schicksalskunde 2 95 f., partly using his formulations.

30 Procopius, 1. c. 2, 8, 10f.

31 Procopius, 1. c. 1, 8, 18.

32 Procopius, 1. c. 1, 19, 35. The interpretatio Punica concerning Bomana of the Libyan gods (U. Kahrstedt, GoE tt. Gel.- Anz. 1939, 511) may be used for comparison.

33 Procopius, 1. c. 1, 19, 34f. Procopius incorrectly the name Philai from this circumstance; cf. C. MuE ller on Priscus Panites fr. 21 FGH. 4, lOOf.

34 Priscus Panites fr. 21.
- Priscus Panites fr. 21. 38 Procopius, 1. c. 1, 19, 36.

- Heliod, Aith. 280, lf. Bekk.; F. Altheim,

Helios and Heliodorus of Emesa (Albae Vigiliae 12) 18; 45f.

- H. A. Winckler, Bock Drawings from Southern Upper Egypt 1, Pl. 4, 2-3.
- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. Pl. 5, 2.
- B. Lepsius, Hermes 10, 130 line 8 eidtoXa; cf. 143.
- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. 16; Christianity among the Tuareg: A. Mordini, Enciclop. Ital. 34, 432 1. Sp.
- For this is how the description of Priscus Panites fr. 21 be understood. The image and the place of the deity are not visited with honor. Rather, at certain times it belongs to the Blemmyans, to whose shores it is brought. And they use the situation created in this way to then - only then! - to assure themselves of the desired god's spells. By granting them, the deity had bound himself and fate.
- Procopius, b. Vand. 2,10, 29.
- Cf. Procopius, 1. c. 1, 8, 2.
- Procopius, 1. c. 1, 16, 9; cf. 1, 5, 8.
- Procopius, 1. c. 2, 11, 28.
- Wander. d. d. KuE stenlaE nder d. Mediterranea 1, 5 f.
- E. F. Gautier, Geiserich 326f.; Les siecles obscurs du Maghreb 765f.; St. Gsell, Hist. anc. de PAfrique du Nord 1, 59f.; A.Merighi, La Tripolitana antica 1, 219 note 2.
- Hist. fr. 42 Maur; cf. Plut., Luculi. 11, 6; Liv. 37, 40, 12;

cf. amm. Marc. 23, 6, 55.

60 Bell. Afr. 68, 4.

51 M. Bostovtzeff, Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft 2, 254f.; Caravan Cities 60; cf. Kallimachos bei Athen. 5 p. 201A.

- M. Bostovtzeff, Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft 2, Pl. 43, 3-4.
- Seeck, EE. 1A, 1066f. 54 Amm. Marceil. 28, 6, 5.

65 Plin, n. h. 5, 38; B. Pace, II Sahara Italiano 1, 288.

56 On the equation B. Pace, op. cit. O. 278f.

57 Coripp, John 7, 341.

68 Procopius, b. Vand. 2, 11, 18.

69 1. c. 6, 83f.; cf. 4, 1074f. 6° Coripp., 1. c 6, 194. ei Dessau,

BE. 15, 5 f. e2 Coripp., 1. c. 6, 390.

83 Veget., epit. 3, 23. simultaneous fights against the

Maziken Amm. Marc. 29, 5, 25 f.

- Not.dign. or. 31, 54 (Herculia); 57 (Valeria).
- Hygin, de mun. castr. 29 camelis cum suis epibatis. Their purpose is twofold: to carry the spoils and to use them against the enemy (si in hostem exituri erunt).
- Th. Mommsen, Ephem. epigr. 7, 458f.; 463; BGU. 2, 696.

- Pap. Ox. 43; see also H. M. D. Parker, JBSt. 23, 181.
- Pap. Ox. 43, col. II, lf.
- Sethe, BE. 5, 1256 f.
- ProkJp., b. Pers. 1, 19; U. Wilcken, Arch. Pap. 1, 396f.; P. Jouget, MuE nch. Bcitr. 19, 87 note 99.
- Not. dign. or. 31, 48.
- Strabon 17 p. 819.
- Strabon 1. c. Tpioi ... cmeCpoug ooE oE s xau-cai? svxeXdaiv.
- L. Woolley and D. Bandeil Mac Iver, Karanog 87f.; C. Conti Bossini, Journal asiat. 1921, 2, 23.

748 Woolley-Bandall Mac Iver, op. cit. O. 89; Pl. 26-28; 34-35; 71.

- F. Altheim, Helios and Heliodorus of Emesa (Albae Vigiliae 12) 27f.
- 'Ao-caßoE ppas: Heliod., Aith. 276, 30f. Bekk.; cf. 22.
- On the following M. Bostovtzeff, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft 2, 35f., with rich bibliographical references. Wars between the Blemmyans and Meroe: Mamert, Genethl. Maxim. 17, 4.
- E. Littmann, Deutsche Aksumexpedition 4, 32 f. No. 11; cf. 1, 49; C. Conti Bossini, Storia d'Etiopia (Africa Italiana 3) 136f.; M. Bostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 2, 36; F. Altheim, l.c. O. 28.

788 Woolley-Bandall Mac Iver, op. cit. O. 90.

- Chron. Pasch, p. 505 Bonn, where tobe, No[ictSag v.cu BXsu(iuE aS uE is recorded.
- C. Conti Bossini, op. cit. O. 126.
- SHA., v. Aur. 33,4; 41,10; quadr. tyr. 3, 2f.; 5, lf.
- Clermont - Ganneau, Becueil arch. orient. 5, 300f.; A.- J.Beinach, Bapport sur lesfouilles de Coptos 1911, 17; Annee epigr. 1912 no. 171; F. Cumont, Fouilles de Doura-Europos LI.
- Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks 27.
- B. Pfister, Textiles de Palmyre 39f.; Pl. IXf.; Nouveaux textiles de Palmyre 34f.; M. Bostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 220f.
- C. Seyrig, Melanges Cumont 1, 400. On the 'IvSooxoO-ta mentioned there W. W. Tarn, The Greeks inBactria and India 232f.; 321f.
- SAH, v. Probi 17, 2f.; Zosim. 1, 71, 1. The silence of the muE nts shows that the emperor was not in Egypt. So right J. Vogt, D. alexandr. MuE nzen 219; on his other assumptions, see the healthy skepticism of J. G. Milne, Catal. Alex. Coins XXXIX.
- J. Maspero, Papyrus Grecs d'epoque Byzantine 2, 67009 v. Z. 18; cf. 67004 C. 9; Calderini-Untersteiner, Studi della scuola papirologica Milano 3, 16.
- E. Littmann in Deutsche Aksum - Expedition 4, 33f.
- Note from E. Littmann (by letter).

- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 1, 49.
- E. Littmann, BE. Suppl. 7, 5; WoolleyBandall Mac Iver, a.

O. 88.

- E. Littmann in Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1, 50.
- E. Littmann, op. O. 4, 33 line 24; 39.
- H. A. Winckler, Bock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt 1, 15f.; Pl. 2f. This the assumption that I made on the basis of the material known to me at the time (Soldatenkaiser 131 f.).
- Procopius, b. Pers. 1, 19, 29.
- L. Frobenius, Kulturgesch. Afrikas Taf. 33; Das Urbild, Cicerone zur vorgesch. Beichsbildersammlung 51 ill., top right and bottom left.

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- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. Pl. 6, 1; cf. L. Frobenius, Kulturgesch. Afrikas Pl. 38.
- Berl. Klass.-Texte 5, 1, 108f.

90 H. A. Winckler, a. 0. 16; Pl. 3, 3 - with a different interpretation.

100 H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. Plates 2, 1-2; 3, 1 and 3; 4, 1; 5, 2.

- H. A. Winckler, a. 0. 16.
- H. A. Winckier, op. O. 16: "By the camel these people becarne wealthy. This favorable change of the basis of material life explains the sudden rise of the hitherto nearly unknown Bleinyans in the third Century A.D., to a power menacing Roman Egypt."
- Summarizing Fabricius, RE. 13, 660f.
- On the following E. F. Gautier, Les sieeles obscurs du Maghreb 185 f.
- E. F. Gautier, op. cit. O. 202f.; 216f.
- Herodian. 7, 9, 1.
- Herodian 7, 9, 6. Polyb. 3, 35, 6 already distinguishes the Numidians in the Carthaginian army from the y-s^aXivo^jisw] frcrcog.
- Coripp. 1. c. 6, 194. amm. Marc. 29, 5, 48 Firmus appears on horseback; 55 his dromedary is mentioned.
- Coripp., 1. c. 4, 1074f.; 6, 83f.
- Coripp. 1st c. 7, 341.
- For full details see A. Merighi, La Tripolitania antica 2, 5f.; 188.
- It. Ant. 73,4f. Wess.; on the dating Kubitschek, RE. 9, 2336f.
- A. Merighi, op. O. 2, 15f.; 188. 113a S. Aurigemma, Africa Ital. 7, 67f.
- B. Pace in: II Sahara Italiano 1, 291.
- G. Caputo, ibid. 309f.; on this and the following A. Merighi, op. cit. O. 1, 183f.
- G. Caputo, op. cit. O. 319f.
- G. Caputo, op. cit. O. 322; 324f.
- G. Caputo, l. 0. 317f.; A. Merighi, l. O. 2, 153 f.

- G. Caputo, Epigraphia 1, 99f.; H. Fuhrmann, AA. 1940, 553.
- Aurelius. Victor, De Caes. 20,19; cf. J. Vogt, D. alexandr. MuE nzen I, 168; 2, 116 (Nike on the embossments of 202/203 and 203/4);
P. W. Townsend, Am. Journ. Arch. 1938, 552. note 5. 21
Africa Italiana 4, 63 fig. 33-34.
Ibid. 4, 71 ills. 42. In addition P. W. Townsend, op. cit. op. 522 f.
P. W. Townsend, op. cit. O. 553; cf. Africa Italiana 2, 254f. fig. 7- 8; S. Aurigemma, I mosaici di Zliten 84 fig. 50.
- J. Wiesner, Driving and Riding in Ancient Europe and the Ancient Orient 78.
- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. Pl. 5, 1-2; 6, 1.
- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. Pl. 5, 2.
- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. 17.
- Heliod, Aith. 9, 16 even speaks of a BXep,[iuuE)v... oE rcXi/uxoE v. It is not clear whether this based on real knowledge.
- The testimonies in F. Altheim, Welt als Gesch.
6, 162f.; Italien und Rom 2, 287.
- P. Graziosi, Africa Italiana 6, 54f.; R. Perret, Journ. soc. afric. 6, pl. 10; 12.
- L. Frobenius, Monumenta Africana2 32f. St. Gsell, Mem. acad. inscr. 43, 149f.
- J. Guey, Mel. arch. hist. 1939, 226f.

33a F. Wiesner, op. cit. O. 71; E. F. Gautier, Les siecles obscurs 170.
- Amm. Marc. 14, 4, lf. 36 Amm. Marc. 14, 4, 3.

36 Amm. Marc. 14, 4, 3.
37 SHA., quadr. tyr. 3, 3.
38 Amm. Marc. 22, 15, 2; H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. 10; E. Littmann, ThamuE d and Safa 3; 24.
40 Not. dign., or.' 28, 17.
41 Jaussen-Savignac, Miss, archeol. en Arabie 2, XIHf. 2 Jaussen-Savignac, op. O. 2, XIII.
43 Cf. SHA, quadr. tyr. 3, 3.
44 H. Lammens, Melanges de la faculte Orientale Beyrouth 9, 111.
45 Jaussen-Savignac, op. cit. O. 2, VIII; W. W. Tarn, Journ. Egypt. Arch. 15, 16f.
46 On the following Calderini-Untersteiner, Studi della scuola papirologica Milano 3, 18f.
47 Pap. Oxyrrh. 709 Z. 5; 1435 Z. 8; 1415 Z.6.
48 CIG. 4751; 5075; cf. PSI. 305 Z. 1.

149 Calderini-Untersteiner, a. O. 18. 15° PSI. 388 Z. 56.
151 hcoE hyj 'ApaE ßwv xara|j.EV< uE v sv x(6(M(j 0sa5sXcpe£a.:
F. Preisigke, scrapbook 4451.
152 Pap. Amhurst 2, 77, 4. 153fBGU. 453 Z. 8-21; 13 Z. 4.

i54'Pap. Geneve 29 line 8; 30 line 7f.; BGU. 1088 lines 5; 11; Pap. Grenfell 2, 50 a Z. 5. On the brand marks E. Littmann, Mitt. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch. 1904, 74f.

155 Jaussen-Savignac, op. cit. O. 2, 115 fig. 47; 128 fig. 49; pl. 10, 1; 45, 3.

156 E. Littmann, ThamuE d and Safa 24f.; 34f.

157 N. Rhodokanakis, SBWA., Phil.-hist. Cl. 177, 2.

158 F. V. Winne", Le Museon 1938, 300; E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 25.

159 E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 130 no. 28.

160 Excavat. at Dura - Europos 1931-32, Pl. 32, 4.

161 E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 95; 126; C. C. Torrey, Excavat. at Dura-Europos 1928-29, 172 f.

183 E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 116.

163 E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 3; A. Alt, Aus der 'Araba II-IV (S.-A. aus der Zeitschr. d. PalaE stinaVereins 58) 7; Pl. 2A; 3B-4; H. Rhotert, Transjordanien Pl. 26; L. W. B. Rees, Antiquity 1929, 393f.

164 D. Nielsen, Handb. d. arab. Altertumskde 1,31; cf. F. Hommel, ibid. 91 note 1;

E. Littmann, DtscheAksum-Expedit. 1,41. 165 E. Littmann, a. O. 4 no. 1; D. Nielsen, op. O. 41; C.Conti Rossini, Journ. asiat.1921,2,8f. 108 F. Altheim, Helios and Heliodorus of Emesa (Albae Vigil. 12); cf. C. Conti Rossini, Riv. degli studi orient. 8, 233f.; 236.

- Aithiop. 297, 23; 298, llf.; C. Conti Rossini, Journ. asiat. 1921, 2; 21; 23; Riv. degli studi orient. 8, 234f.
- E. Littmann, op. cit. O. 4, 32f. No. 11; cf. 1, 49.
- C. Conti Rossini, op. cit. O. Pl. 51 f. Figs. 159 -162.
- Peripl. mar. Erythr. 21; 24.
- H. Lammens, Melanges de la faculte Orientale Beyrouth 9, 380; E. Littmann, RE. Suppl. 7, 2.
- Peripl. 20.
- Wadi Itwad and Hima Valley: H. St. Philby, Geogr. Journ. 92, 1938, fig. to p. 5.
- D. Nielsen, Handb. d. altarab. altertumskunde 1, 174 Fig. 73; M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities Pl. 3, 3.
- M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. Pl. 3, 1-2. On the importance and nature of camel breeding B. Thomas, Arabia Felix in the index under "Camel.
- H. A. Winckler, op. cit. O. 10; C. Conti Rossini, Riv. degli studi orient. 8, 235.

NIGHT TRAI GE

On the first chapter: "Iran" note 4°a J. Wiesner, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 37, 39 f.

Note 337 A. AlfoE ldi points out to me (in a letter) that Mariades certainly died before Valerian's capture: Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 3; Berytus 4, 58.
n the second chapter: "The Far East" m.10 plaster masks closely related to Chinese masks of the Han period in the South Siberian necropolis of Oglakty: A.
M. Tallgren, Eur. Sepy. Ant. 11, 71; 77; 72 Fig. 3.
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TABLE DIRECTORY
i. Sino-Siberian bronze. Paris, Collection C. T. Loo. After A. Salmony Smo-Siberian Art Pl. 11, 4. salmony,
DtoE oE -35, 377 Fig. 85 (redrawing). F

- According to Excavat. 1933-35, Pl. 29, 1.
- Sino-Siberian bronze. Paris, Collection C T Loo N"^ A c i

a. O. Pl. 16, 17. g a°h A* Salmo^

- According to A. Salmony, op. cit. O. Pl. 16 16

^ NaechhFSilate ^ ™f ^ L ^ ^ustem at Persepolis. According to F. Sarre, D. Kunst d. alten Persien 74

7' ESarrt f.tT; UI b<!r beSi<!gte Schapu, Nach
9' rw,1,"";:" Gefo,ge- Naksch-i Rad8chab bd p-p"'
W. The cavalry of Shap'r I. Shapur. According to E. Herzfeld, l. O. Taf 12 1
ii. Bas Streuroß of Shapur I. Shapur. Naeh E. Herzfeid, a. 0. Taf 12 2 U. Horse armor. Dura-Europos. According to Excavat. 1932-33, Pl. 22 1 13, also according to Excavat. 1932-
33 Table 22 3
U' ^-™™™^T^ ^AI '^**#* According to Excavat. 15. as per Excavat. 1932-33 Taf 23 2
" W:. tS.rJHacki;-L'™de ia "*-
i7. Buddha. Hadda. According to J. Hackin, a. O 1 Fig 3 J
r^^^' J' Barth0UX' Hadda 3, pl. 42
19 DaE mon. hadda. According to J. Barthoux, l.c. O. 3 Taf 45
20 nomad warriors. Hadda. After J. Hackin, 'op. O. 1, fig. 15.

- According to J. Hackin, a. 0. 1, fig. 16.

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- Above: Nomadic ruler. Hadda. After J. Hackin, a. 0. 1, fig. 6. - Below: Miaios (Heraios?). Paris, Cabinet des Medailles. After J. Hackin, op. O. 1, fig. 12.
- Volageses V., Artabanos V. and Artavasdes. According to W. Wroth, Catal. of the Coins of Parthia Taf. 36.
- Persian siege tunnel. Dura-Europos. After Excavat. 1932-33, Pl. 18, 2.
- According to Excavat. 1932-33, Pl. 18, 1.
- Parthian . Dipinti on shards. Dura- Europos. After Excavat. 1933-35, pl. 56.

- GefluE gelte Genien. Miran. After Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks Pl. 54.
- Clay seal on pieces of writing in Kharoshthi alphabet. Nija. According to Sir Aurel Stein, l.c. O. Pl. 44.
- Wooden panels with Kharoshthi script. Nija. After Sir Aurel Stein, op. cit. Pl. 38.
- Exit of the Nissa Valley. East Turkestan. According to Sir Aurel Stein, op. O. Pl. 25.
- Location of the inscribed wooden plaques. Nija. According to Sir Aurel Stein, op. O. Pl. 37.
- Armoured riders, ladies-in-waiting and armoured foot soldiers. Toronto, R. Ontario Museum. After O. Siren, Hist. des arts anc. de la Chine 2, pl. 109.
- Above: Chinese magazine at the Limes. Tun-huang. After Sir Aurel Stein, a. 0. pl. 78= Serindia 2, fig. 186. - Below: The Chinese fort L. K. west of the Lop-nor. After Sir Aurel Stein, Innermost Asia 1, fig. 133.
- Watchtower on the Limes. Tun-huang. After Sir Aurel Stein, On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks Taf. 74.
- Kuei. Chou. Sir Neill Malcolm Collection. After H. G. Creel, The Birth of China pl. 11.
- Death mask. Pre-Han. Paris, J. Sauphar Collection. After art. Asiae 1, 171 ill.
- I. Schang. Collection P. C. Huang. After H. G. Creel, op. O. Pl. 13.
- Wagon fittings. Presumably Schang. Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art. After H. G. Creel, a. 0. pl. 14.
- Horsemen and chariots. Han. Stockholm, Museum of Far Eastern Antiqu. After O. Siren, a. 0. 2, pl. 3.
- Funerary relief of Wu-leang-tseu. Han. After O. Siren, a. 0. 3, pl. 17 A.

- Hunting illustration. Han. Paris, Collection C. T. Loo. After 0. Siren, l.c. 2 pl. 4.
- Tomb relief. Hiao-t'ang-schan, Shantung. After E. Chavannes, La sculpture sur pierre en Chine pl. 41 (detail).
- Tomb relief. Hiao-t'ang-schang, Shantung. After Eur. Sept; Ant. 9, 241 fig. 4.
- Horse trampling a defeated Hun. Tomb of Ho K'uE -p'ing northwest of Hien-jang, Zhensi. According to O. Siren, a. 0. 2, pl. 4 B.
- Stored horse. Of the same origin. After O. Siren, op. O. 3, pl. 5.
- Type of the Przewalsld horse. Sino-Siberian bronze. Paris, Collection C. T. Loo. After A. Salmony, op. O. Pl. 8, 3.
- Tarpan. Altamira cave, northern Spain. Copy by E. Trautmann-Nehring, in the possession of Reichsmarschall H. GoE ring, Karinhall.

- Jade. Han. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Eumorfopulos Collec. tion). After C. Diem, Asiatische Reiterspiele 131 fig. 55.
- Young stallion of Persian-Arab breeding. After C. R. Raswan, D. Land d. schwarzen Zelte 120 Taf.
- Above: Sword . Tomb 9 at Pin-jang, Korea. SoE ul, Museum. After O. Siren, a. 0. 2, pl. 6 A. - Below: Desgl. Paris, Collection C. T. Loo. After 0. Siren, pl. 2, pl. 6 B.
- Saddle engravings. The tomb of the tomb of Pazyryk, Altai. According to Rev. des arts asiat. 10, pl. 69.
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